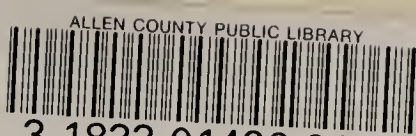


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JAMES ROGAN, HILL COUNTRY PIONEER

By

Virginia O. Bardsley

Approved:

Professor of History and Government
(Head of Department)

Professor of History
(Major Professor)

Associate Dean
School of Arts and Sciences

Dean of the Graduate School

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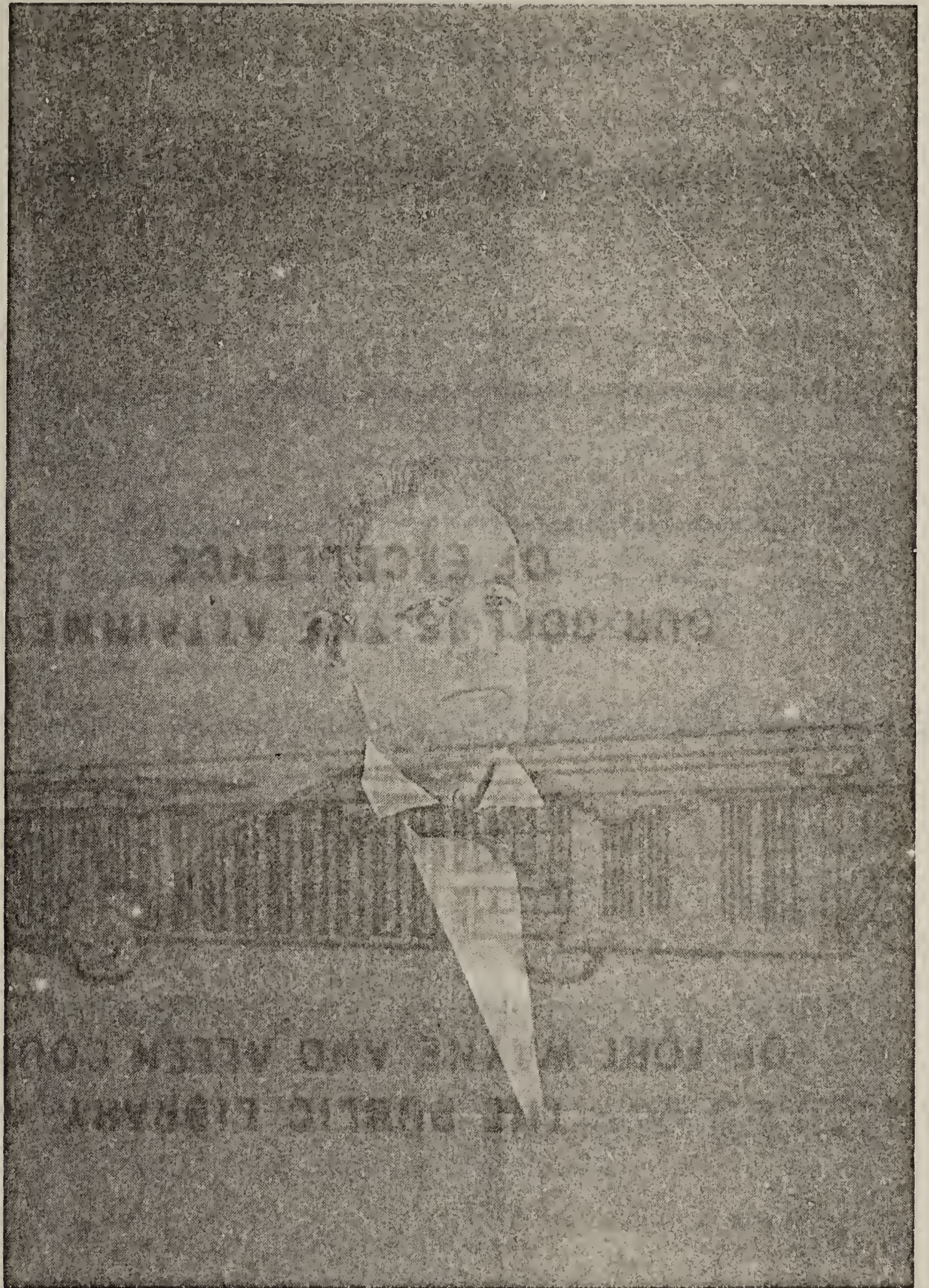
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1. The first part of the report is a summary of the work done during the year.
 2. The second part is a detailed account of the experiments carried out.
 3. The third part is a discussion of the results obtained.
 4. The fourth part is a conclusion.

1970

The work was carried out under the supervision of the Director of the Institute.
 The results are given in the following tables.

1970



May this small manuscript
aid in insignificant ways the
Maryland Historical Society in
preserving the variety and
genius of the State.

Virginia Owen Berdsey

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CHAPTER I

A WAYFARING IRISHMAN

In August, 1791, Daniel Rogan, an industrious immigrant, landed at Baltimore, Maryland. Rogan's background was certainly Irish and perhaps Roman Catholic as well. The Irish, despised and persecuted by their English conquerors, had belatedly "discovered" America.¹ A new attitude toward Irish immigrants prevailed throughout the United States,² and vessels came annually to the important ports laden with passengers from Erin.³

However, when Daniel Rogan set out for America from Dublin, there was as yet no mass migration of the Catholic Irish. They were too poor.⁴ There was, nevertheless, a steady exodus. For these emigrants the voyage itself proved no sudden panacea for the ill-usage they were leaving behind, and, being of a good stock that stood between the gentry and the farm laborers, their departure created a great void

¹James O'Connor, History of Ireland, 1798-1924 (2 vols., London, 1926), I, 35.

²Stella H. Sutherland, Population Distribution in Colonial America (New York, 1936), 87-88.

³Carl Wittke, We Who Built America (New York, 1940), 47.

⁴Constantia Maxwell, Country and Town in Ireland Under the Georges (Dundalk, 1949), 113.

in their small class.⁵ After the competitive lures of ships' captains and masters received a heavy response among the Irish, the only competition that remained was that for berths.⁶ When Daniel Rogan left his native land, the result of the latter situation was the use of unseaworthy boats that were grossly overcrowded and scantily supplied with inferior provisions. One or more deaths occurred on most voyages, water was polluted, passengers slept in relays.⁷

The Passenger Act of 1803 throws light in retrospect on the dismal experience of the earlier Irishmen who had, before that date, been emboldened to make the hazardous crossing in order to settle on an equally hazardous frontier. By the terms of the act, ships were required to carry food for twelve weeks. For each passenger there were to be provided one half pound of meat, one and one half pounds of biscuits or oatmeal, one half pound of molasses, and one gallon of water daily.⁸ Ships could carry only one passenger for each two tons of unladen capacity. Each ship had to provide itself with a surgeon. Other requirements dealt with a miserable standard of cleanliness that was to be maintained. The use of ships' logs was made mandatory.

⁵Carl Wittke, The Irish in America (Baton Rouge, 1956), 6; Donald F. Forrester, "A Study of the Migration of Catholics to the Tennessee Valley Region from 1769 to 1810" (M.A. Thesis, Catholic University of America, 1934), 6.

⁶Stanley C. Johnson, A History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, 1763-1912 (New York, 1914), 101.

⁷Ibid., 102.

⁸Idem.

Personal bonds to fortify the responsibility of ships' officers were initiated.⁹ Thus a bill enacted more than a decade after Rogan left home reveals the startling lack of decency with which his generation of emigrants had been treated, causing even those Irish lads who could afford to flee to undergo, in the flight itself, one last indignity.

The ship which brought Rogan into the port of Baltimore was only one of 746 which arrived there that year.¹⁰ This had been a busy year for the old city of the Calverts. So why should anyone record the arrival of another Irish immigrant? For the Irishman, however, it was an eventful day. Having departed from Dublin while he was still nineteen, he beheld his destination on August 25, the occasion of his twentieth birthday. He must have been doubly grateful as he touched land again. However, what his emotions were that day, who the family he had left behind, what the reason for leaving home, he never revealed.¹¹ What treasures, great or small -- money, possessions, raiment -- he had brought or left behind, he never discussed.¹² Only a portion of his large library of leatherbound books, many written in strange and ancient languages, remained until others could tell of them.¹³

⁹Idem.

¹⁰J. Thomas Scharf, The Chronicles of Baltimore (Baltimore, 1874), 262.

¹¹James Wood Rogan, "Rogan Family Record," typed copy now in the possession of the author, 1. James W. Rogan, Daniel's oldest grandson, knew his grandfather well, being intimately associated with him during the last decade of Daniel's life.

¹²James Rogan, "Sketch of My Life," manuscript now in the possession of the author, 1, 6.

¹³Thomas M. Owen, History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography (4 vols., Chicago, 1921), IV, 1456.

Like numerous immigrants thronging Eastern ports in those days, Daniel Rogan assumed anonymity -- or had it thrust upon him. Bad penmanship, confused spellings, family legends, similarity of names, and lost records make impossible any definite statement about Rogan at this period of his life, until the year 1797, when in Frederick County, Maryland, on March 1, he married Catherine Crawford. Of Welsh descent, she had been born in that state on May 15, 1779.¹⁴ After their marriage, Daniel and his wife, like thousands of others, took the path that led down the great Southern Valley.¹⁵ Where the trail turned toward the west, near a point where it crossed Catawba Creek five or six miles south of Fincastle in Botetourt County, they made their first home.¹⁶

Fincastle, never destined for distinction as a metropolis, achieved perhaps its greatest period of usefulness in its raw youth when the Republic was young. In Rogan's time many of the men who made up his acquaintanceship were distinguished by their battles against the British, the Indians, and the terrain, as well as for their struggles in behalf of industry and government. Far more than for its chalk deposits and natural beauty, Botetourt was noted for its bold and versatile colonizers. The county, carved from old Augusta in 1769 and named for a popular governor, gained strength from such men as General Andrew Lewis, Israel and William Christian, William Preston, Stephen Trigg, Robert Dodge, the Pattons, the Ingles, the Crocketts, the Campbells, and the Brecken-

¹⁴Rogan, "My Life," 1.

¹⁵Ibid., 12.

¹⁶Idem.

ridges.¹⁷ Rogan knew these men and had business and personal contacts with some of them throughout his life.¹⁸

By 1804, when Rogan was ready to make another move, Botetourt County had a population of 9,825, including Daniel, Catherine, and five small Rogans.¹⁹ Before they left this sprawling county the Great Revival hit the area with flood tide force. Lying on a crossroads, it was a center of revival activity. Though there was an Episcopal Church in Abingdon, there was not another for miles around. Baptists, however, like Elder Tidance Lane, Squire Boone, and James Abbott, minor hurricanes of enthusiasm, spread Baptist seeds across the countryside.²⁰ Daniel and Catherine Rogan were plucked as mature fruit: under the guidance of William and James Moorman, they joined the Baptist Church during a great revival held at Little Otter, about fifteen miles south of Liberty.²¹

Besides the hard business of pioneering and saving souls, the law was, after a fashion, the next matter of interest on the frontier.

¹⁷Joseph A. Waddell, Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, with Reminiscences (Richmond, 1886), 131-132, 196.

¹⁸Rogan, "My Life," 10-12, 39-43; Deed Book 12, Washington County, Virginia, 38, passim. (Courthouse at Abingdon).

¹⁹Jedidiah Morse (comp.), The American Gazetteer, 2nd Edition (Boston, 1804), unpaginated.

²⁰David E. Johnston, A History of Middle New River Settlements and Contiguous Territory (Huntington, West Virginia, 1906), 160.

²¹Robert B. Semple, A History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Virginia (Richmond, 1894), 343; Rogan, "My Life," 10.

The law played an important role in the life of Daniel Rogan, his associates, and his children, and they were often present at court, the father and children "always interested in these proceedings."²² Daniel Rogan was several times an appointed agent of the probate court, and several of his children and grandchildren were later active in judicial and magisterial capacity.²³ Their names are scattered liberally throughout the deed, will, and marriage record books that are extant in the counties where they lived. Having begun early, Daniel indoctrinated them from infancy with his ideas of hard work, probity, and respect for the law.²⁴

On this later frontier with its transient and opportunistic elements there was also a stable class. To be born in the midst of such conditions probably augured neither permanency nor transiency, but certainly the influences the newborn experienced were diverse. On December 11, 1797, a son whom they named James was born to Daniel and Catherine Rogan.²⁵ He was "born in a log cabin of humble degree" on the Valley trail, where he had opportunity to watch the traffic passing on the crossroads. However, his first memory was not of travelers, but of his mother and of hard but pleasant work: "Though my memory cannot go back

²²James Rogan, "Biography," unpaginated manuscript now in the possession of the author.

²³Rogan, "My Life," 33, 35; Deed Book 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, Will Book 4, 5, Washington County, Virginia.

²⁴Rogan, "My Life," 13.

²⁵Ibid., 1.

to the very day [of birth], yet it does run back, very fresh and vivid as to many things."²⁶ James' lifelong admiration of industry and simplicity began on that bright and warm day, when, though not yet two years old, he went with his mother to the garden to watch her sow her seeds.²⁷ Gifted with total recall even in his last years and with a "memory that crowded incident upon incident in profusion," it is possible that he had this trivial incident impressed upon his mind by the fact that, in the midst of his simple joy, he was stricken by a violent pain below his left knee and had to be carried into the house. This pain was the first indication that he was a victim of dreaded white swelling, a disease of rheumatic nature known on the frontier and elsewhere at that time, probably rheumatic fever.²⁸

Like many other diseases of the day it was not wholly understood. The complicated treatment called forth all the skill of the physician and placed a heavy strain upon a busy frontier mother, especially one anticipating the birth of her second child.²⁹ It was a year before James was able to walk again and then he could only slide and crawl to reach the creek at the base of the hill. After that attempt,

²⁶James Rogan to the Ripley (Miss.) Southern Sentinel, December 18, 1884; reprinted September 26 and October 26, 1935.

²⁷Rogan, "My Life," 9.

²⁸Conversation with Kermit D. Laird, M.D., Starkville, Mississippi, September 26, 1958.

²⁹Rogan, "Biography."

he did not walk for three years.³⁰ That he walked with a slight limp for the remainder of his life is not surprising when one considers the treatment that was customary.

The long regimen began with bed rest and the application of leeches, sometimes with scarification of the affected joint.³¹ This process was repeated every other day until eight or ten ounces of blood were taken. Meanwhile, the sore spot was kept wet with a solution of sal ammoniac on linen poultices "until improvement occurred." Various ointments were applied "with frictions" until the "mouth should be affected from the use of the mercurial salve." To speed recovery in stubborn cases like James', blisters were induced about the joint and kept going for "a length of time." The coup de grace to the affliction was the inducement of such severe ulcers on the painful area that they could be opened. If the patient were destined to recover, at this point the treatment was supposed to promote a climax.³²

It is no wonder then that his mother appeared to James in his memories as being constantly engaged in some useful occupation, "a loving and tender mother, peaceable, quiet and lovely, so that peace and harmony prevailed a long lifetime between the mother and the father and a large family of children."³³ Her attention to her immobilized

³⁰Rogan, "My Life," 10.

³¹James Ewell, Medical Companion (Philadelphia, 1807), 337-338; Rogan, "Family Record," 1.

³²Idem.

³³Rogan, "Biography."

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THE END

THE AUTHOR WOULD LIKE TO THANK THE FOLLOWING FOR THEIR HELP AND SUPPORT:

THE AUTHOR

THE AUTHOR

child, who learned patience from her and from exceedingly painful affliction, was diverted to the care of four new arrivals: Amos, born September 9, 1799, not long after the onset of James' illness; Griffith, born July 16, 1800; Jones,³⁴ born October 14, 1802, who brought the first sorrow to the family when he died in January, 1803; and the first daughter, Catherine, who arrived in December, 1803.³⁵

Daniel, the father of this rapidly expanding group of children, was frequently absent from the home in the interest of his business. Engaged in the mercantile business and the hauling of goods during most of his years in Virginia, it is possible that he was already associated with William White, who lived in Abingdon. White was a very prosperous merchant and frontier industrial magnate. It is certain that Rogan and his sons were associates and partners of the Abingdon Whites for twenty-five years following this time.³⁶ It is also possible that Daniel operated independently, supplying the Hales, the Triggs, the Pattons, and others who moved as he did to the Holston valley, where their business and personal relationships continued.³⁷

Whatever his business affiliations, Daniel Rogan had another occupation which he found congenial if not lucrative, one with which he

³⁴James always referred to this brother as "Jones," but his own son, James Wood Rogan, called him Jonas. Rogan, "Family Record," 1.

³⁵Rogan, "My Life," 2.

³⁶Rogan, "My Life," 32, 36; Deed Book 7, Washington County, Virginia, 196.

³⁷Rogan, "My Life," 3 et seq.

augmented his income during the long winter when transportation slowed almost to a halt.³⁸ Across the New River, colonies of his compatriots had established communities,³⁹ and between the New and the James lay the homesteads of his friends. Though academies were being established in various scattered points, the people generally depended on traveling Irishmen, including the Scotch-Irish, and itinerant Yankees for the instruction of their children.⁴⁰ Possessed of a classical education, Daniel taught in some of these schools. "There were at this time no schools more dignified than a log cabin in the vicinity."

The Rogan children were not privileged to study under their father's tutelage, though they too learned the fundamentals of education in a log school. James, whose education began late and ended early, paid a tribute to such institutions and to the democracy they engendered.

These were filled with boys and girls of ages from sixteen to twenty-one / sic / or more. No such thing / existed / as a separate school for the different sexes at that date in the country. I remember well the spirit of emulation often produced to excell / sic /, both in the boys and the girls. So...I am satisfied this plan for mixed schools were / sic / the best schools for the country.⁴¹

³⁸Rogan, "My Life," 11.

³⁹John P. Hale, Trans-Allegheny Pioneers, 2nd Edition (Charleston, West Virginia, 1931), 13, 62.

⁴⁰Richard J. Purcell, "Education and Irish Teachers in Early Kentucky," Catholic Education Review, XXXIV (June, 1936), 361.

⁴¹Rogan, "My Life," 12.

Daniel, though engaged in the hard labor of the frontier, found admiration at home as he established respect for himself abroad.

He was mild, pleasant and affable in his manner, pleasant and agreeable in his family as well as with all his fellow beings. But once do I remember the use of harsh words to Catherine, then upon reflection, he seemed to be sorry. He never used harsh or improper language.⁴²

Passionately fond of reading and study, Daniel employed what leisure hours he had in the indulgence of his evident compulsion, "pursuing not trashy works, but standard literature, poetry, history, and the great masters of the past."⁴³ One addition to his library that Daniel made at this time was "Ree^s sic Cyclopedia", an expenditure of four hundred dollars being necessary." The memory of that purchase struck awe in the hearts of James Rogan and his young grandchildren for whom he was preparing his father's biography and caused him to record his only criticism of his parent: "It hardly seemed justified." Perhaps when he wrote this indictment, his judgment had been biased by the fact that he and his grandchildren sat together in his denuded farmhouse during the depths of Reconstruction.⁴⁴

Addicted not only to the reading of poetry but also to the writing of it, Daniel, who had recently come under the emotional influence of the revivalists, began to compose sacred hymns. He spent

⁴²James Rogan, "A Short Biography of Daniel Rogan Sen.," unpaginated manuscript now in the possession of the author.

⁴³Idem.

⁴⁴Idem.

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so much time at this congenial pastime that "a large collection of manuscripts was accumulated, which if it could now be had would be greatly prized as a precious boon."⁴⁵

When at last James could walk again, the world outside began to compete with the familiar household for his attention. Near the Rogans in Botetourt there lived a large colony of Germans, whose industry, hospitality, and kindness made an incredible impression on the boy's mind. It was pointed out to him by his parents and made manifest to him repeatedly by the Germans themselves through their conduct, that they, though their houses were sturdy and their tall barns bulging with grain, preferred the simple joys of the harvest and the laughter of their neighbors around the hearth to the more luxurious life of their forebears in the Palatinate, or even to that of the large landowners in Maryland whence many of them had come.⁴⁶

On one particular visit when James was carried by his mother to the home of one of these neighbors, mealtime arrived before they left. "The children were furnished a pewter Bason / sic / filled with mush, /the vessel/ being placed upon the floor. Each child was then furnished with a spoon and a cup of milk."⁴⁷ Whether by intent or otherwise, because of the cold and snow during that wintry visit, the Rogans remained overnight with their hosts. "A feather bed was placed upon the floor...

⁴⁵Idem. At least one book of these hymns remains, written in a fine script like that of an engraver.

⁴⁶Rogan, "My Life," 87, 89.

⁴⁷Ibid., 90.

and all the children crawled upon it. Then to keep us warm another feather bed was placed over us to serve as a blessed blanket to hasten our sleep.⁴⁸ Thus the uncomplicated pleasures of childhood made bright spots on an old man's patchwork quilt of memory.

James Rogan was from the first conscious of the beauty of the Valley setting in which he was born. A traveler, whose romantic inclinations derived more from literary than from the humanitarian sources then causing such a furor in his native land, passed through the Valley on his way to a watering spot. He was Captain Ferdinand Marie Bayard of Paris, and he admired the farms, the climate, the scenery, the moonlight, the flowers, the whippoorwills,⁴⁹ in fact, almost everything. He created an image that coincided with the one which the little Rogans remembered.

While the merchants, land speculators and surveyors, travelers, hunters, and ne'er-do-wells, whether gentlemen or rogues, often used the busy road before the Rogan door, the women -- no matter how abundantly encumbered with children -- seem also to have frequented its length and breadth, and the Rogans were no exception. Such excellent contact was maintained between Catherine and her old home in Maryland that twenty years later two of her daughters would marry into the German Thomas family of Frederick County.⁵⁰

⁴⁸Ibid., 91.

⁴⁹Julia Davis, The Shenandoah (New York, 1945), 115.

⁵⁰George Leicester Thomas, Genealogy of Thomas Family (Adams-town, Maryland, 1954), 216, 350; G. Leicester Thomas to Austin Thomas, January 30, 1961.

When James was about eight years old, Daniel moved his family to East Tennessee, to the Bristol area on Steele's Creek, where he had a contract to haul the salt and other products of the early Tennessee industrialist, James King.⁵¹

⁵¹Rogan, "My Life," 10.

CHAPTER II

HOME BY THE RIVER

For James Rogan, East Tennessee retained always the fascinating aspects of a kaleidoscope with its changing color and design. The great hills such as those rising abruptly from the rugged Holston, the clothing of conifer and hardwood, became as time passed an essential of his life. When the Rogans first moved to East Tennessee, the legends of Indians remained fresh, for the Indians themselves were still there. Yet to come were the great Indian campaigns of Andrew Jackson. At the confluence of the forks of the Holston, Long Island, the sacred meeting ground of the Cherokees, stretched for miles downstream. The fort which urbane William Byrd had constructed in his search for renown in the land of the pagans was still there, though moldering away.

Sitting at the confluence was a hamlet called Boatyard because, where the valley narrowed, forcing users of Boone's road into closer confines, the river if not more tractable at least enlarged enough to receive the mountain torrents that gushed and gurgled over crag and boulder, furnishing a suitable point for collection of commodities and the building of boats. The point was first made notable by the Henderson expedition which built there the boats in which the Donelson party had departed for the French Lick in middle Tennessee. Afterwards the stragglers and the settlers found the situation good. In the business of commerce no better site could have been chosen by Daniel Rogan as a base for his operations.

John Sevier, whose property was near and who called the area

home, was still telling tales of earlier days when the Rogans arrived, one of the favorites being that of Oconostota, the Great Cherokee chief, concerning a race of white men, possibly Welsh, who had generations before used these waters.¹ Though many thousands of people like the Rogans were conscious of the power of the river,²

Tawny and unsubdued...the old Tennessee threw back man's improvements in his face and went on its own way, which was not the way of the white man. The white man therefore withheld his praise. So today there are no fine romantic songs about the Tennessee. Poets, novelists, makers of ballads and folk tales, all have passed it by.³

Nevertheless there were attractions to lure the hardy to and through the environs of Boatyard. It is not known how the Rogans moved into the area although in the first decade most people still walked, carrying what little they owned on a horse perhaps. Since Daniel was in the business of transportation, the Rogans probably rode. The roads off the main trail meandered around mountain edges and through forests and the best of them were those hardened by buffalo hoofs as those animals wandered from salt to sulphur springs.⁴

¹Donald Davidson, The Tennessee, Rivers of America Series (2 vols., New York, 1946), I, 20.

²James Rogan, Diary 1878-1879, September 30, 1878 et seq., Rogan Papers, in the possession of the author.

³Davidson, op. cit., I, 6.

⁴A. W. Putnam, History of Middle Tennessee or The Life and Times of General James Robertson (Nashville, 1859), 104.

Less than a decade before Daniel Rogan reached the Holston Valley a poor wagon road had been cut through to Nashville and opened to wagons carrying one ton of weight. Still later a road was opened across the mountains by way of the French Broad River to the South Atlantic states.⁵ But still the best road was the river, and the Rogans remained true to it "so long as pole or oar was needed" to move man and produce. The time and place were ideal for a man engaged in freighting.

The company which employed Rogan was founded by a man from whose genius the little Rogans were to derive much practical knowledge and many useful skills. He was a pioneer industrialist of East Tennessee. His origins are cloudy. Though some historians claim him as a true Irishman,⁶ a fact which might account for his interest in Rogan, others insist that he was a native of Londonderry,⁷ and others declare that King was a native of London.⁸

Whatever his beginnings, when he came to Virginia he was already a successful engineer. In the course of his travels he discovered the Holston Valley. Overwhelmed by its beauty and potentialities, he

⁵John Haywood, The Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee, 2nd Edition (Nashville, 1891), 462.

⁶Michael J. O'Brien, A Hidden Phase in American History: Ireland's Part in America's Struggle for Freedom (New York, 1949), 196.

⁷Lewis P. Summers, A History of Southwest Virginia, 1746-1786; Washington County, 1777-1870 (Richmond, 1903), 750.

⁸Thomas W. Preston, Historical Sketches of the Holston Valley (Kingsport, 1926), 43; Oliver Taylor, Historic Sullivan (Bristol, Tenn., 1909), 149.

bought or otherwise obtained fifty thousand acres in the vicinity of Bristol. To this holding he later added other large tracts. One of America's unsung prophets, he envisioned vast industries arising in the valley⁹ and set out to realize his dream. By the time Rogan came into his company's employment he had long since had a flour mill in operation, as well as an iron factory on Steele's Creek, three miles south of Bristol.¹⁰ The iron and iron products, including nails from King's nail factory, were the result of operations at the Barbary Furnace, named for Governor William Blount's mother when Blount came into the King enterprise as a partner.¹¹ Rogan distributed and freighted products at first principally by water. Though no confirming records can be found, it is evident that Rogan lived at the Steele Creek site for a while. His family probably was established at Boatyard.¹²

The King company especially needed a reliable man to manage the river traffic in season and at other times to haul products overland because of the swift development of the Knoxville area which King himself had surveyed and laid out. From the beginning of his association with the Kings, Daniel found Knoxville an excellent market.¹³ Though many of those migrating westward stayed only a short while, others put down their

⁹Summers, op. cit., 751.

¹⁰Robert V. Loving, Double Destiny, The Story of Bristol, Tennessee-Virginia (Bristol, 1955), 15.

¹¹Ibid., 16.

¹²Rogan, "Biography."

¹³Rogan, "My Life," 11.

roots, and whether they stayed or moved on to similar climates and like pursuits in other parts as they were accustomed to do,¹⁴ Rogan made customers of them. Often he followed them to other places with commodities to satisfy their needs, but for a while Knoxville was his most important market.

The people had no more urgent need than that for salt, and in this commodity the King family also had an interest. In the opinion of the backwoodsmen salt was one of the most valuable of items, and they paid prohibitive prices to get a supply.¹⁵ It was priced near the top of the list for commodities for sale.

At King's Salines thirty-two gallons of water produced one gallon of salt at the rate of two hundred pounds per day equivalent to Liverpool salt. The waters came from a well ten feet square and two hundred or more feet deep, which was constantly more than half full.¹⁶ At first Rogan hauled salt overland to Boatyard, from which point he could send it down the river by boat to Knoxville. At that point it could be distributed by water or by way of the wagon road in three directions.¹⁷

Family life for the Rogans developed into a close and abiding association in East Tennessee, adding another bit of luster to the place.

¹⁴ Frank L. Owsley, "The Pattern of Migration and Settlement on the Southern Frontier," Journal of Southern History, XI (May, 1945), 175.

¹⁵ Ellen Semple, American History and Its Geographic Conditions (Boston, 1903), 82.

¹⁶ Morse, op. cit.

¹⁷ Rogan, "Family Record," 1; Rogan, "My Life," 54.

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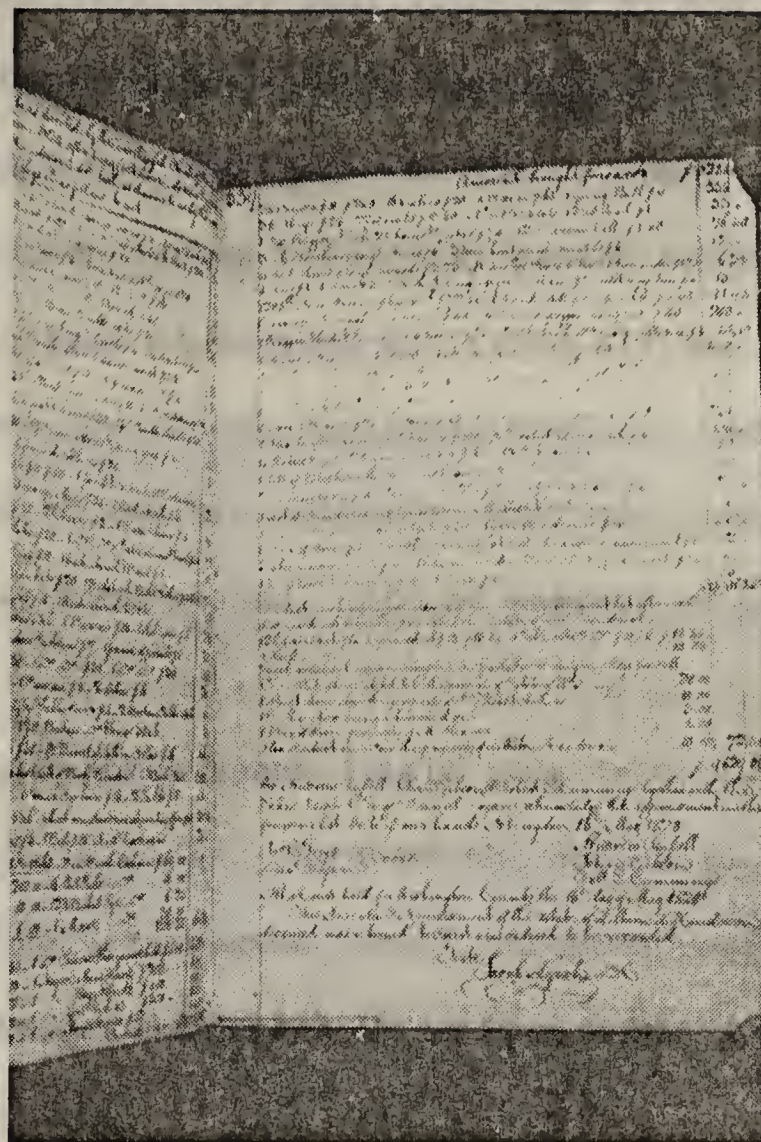
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King Office



Though Daniel was still kept away from home by the nature of his business and by his teaching, which he still pursued,¹⁸ he saw that his children had what education was available for them. James as the oldest of the nine living children during this early period could get only the fundamentals, a deficiency he decried and tried all his life to overcome. Never did he have the chance his later brothers had, for during his father's absence he was his mother's chief aid, and financial matters, which improved as time passed, were of serious concern to the Rogans for some years.¹⁹

Although James spent little time in the schoolroom, his hours were not given to idleness. Many of the household chores and the care of his younger brothers became James' accepted responsibility. He performed tasks outside the household to earn a pittance. He afterwards asserted that

When no lighter jobs could be found I was often found with my axe chopping cord wood at the low price of two and sixpence. Sometimes was employed as help in a Black Smith Shop or at a Carpenter's bench, /or/ waiting upon Masons at twenty-five cents a day.²⁰

In 1811 James found employment as an oarsman on a keelboat laden with salt and made a trip down the river to Knoxville. Whether he was working for his father or King, he does not say, but the fact that he records this as his first trip away from home for more than a day sug-

¹⁸Rogan, "My Life," 11.

¹⁹Idem.

²⁰Ibid., 12.

gests his close relation to his family and perhaps the fact that he had made shorter trips on the boats. That excursion was only the beginning of an adventure which, once he had tasted it, he was to savor again and again.²¹

When the war with England was brought home to East Tennessee by such recruiters as young Sam Houston, Rogan was anxious to follow General Jackson to the battlefields, Jackson being an old familiar figure in that part of the country and quite a hero to little boys.²² Rejected as too young to go off with the older youths, James was fortunate just at that crisis in being offered a place as "store boy" by the firm of Hale, Henderson, and Beatty -- "at a Sallary / sic / of Forty Dollars per annum, this being war times and a flush time of money."²³ He kept busy most of the time, studying in his spare moments, and by the end of the year found he had not only gained in wisdom but had saved money. The next year his salary was eighty dollars, his savings increasing proportionately.²⁴

In 1815, Daniel entered into a partnership at King Iron Works near Bristol with a firm called Henderson and Beatty, moved his family there, and took James, then seventeen, into his employ at a salary. Later the parent firm in Abingdon in an effort to expand its business in the

²¹Idem.

²²Idem.

²³Idem.

²⁴Ibid., 13.

postwar period decided to send James to Manchester, in present-day Clay County, Kentucky, to buy ginseng, then an important article of trade. He was also commissioned to buy "Deer and fur skins." The area, settled as late as 1790, was near Goose Creek Salt Works, rather a famous place in those days.²⁵

Because the Cumberland mountain section was settled by rather uncouth inhabitants in those early times, James was very careful of his own conduct. Familiar as he was with mountains, he was much impressed by the beauty and romantic aspects of the celebrated Cumberland Gap, whose history was known to most East Tennessee boys. However, James had not foreseen the possibility of being trapped at this spot, as he eventually was, being cut off from retreat or advance and forced into the mountains by high water. Far up on the steep side of one mountain stood an imposing residence, and no matter what his imagination pictured in the way of "uncouth inhabitants," James realized that if he were to have a refuge, the home offered the sole opportunity. To his surprise and relief, the family proved to be pleasant and gracious, entertaining him as a guest for more than a week, until the water had subsided and he could go on his way.²⁶

For six months, cut off from home, James lived in the Kentucky wilderness -- buying, selling, trading; managing his finances, transportation, lodgings; meeting Indians, pioneers, ruffians; gaining experience in dealing with many types of people.²⁷

²⁵Ibid., 15.

²⁶Ibid., 16.

²⁷Idem.

When James returned to Bristol -- "to the House of my Father" -- he found that Daniel had moved again, this time to Washington County, Virginia, fourteen miles north of Abingdon, to establish a new mercantile business and to engage in the hauling of salt from the saltworks there.²⁸

Again the chosen location of Daniel's new operations included an environment distinguished by all the natural features James had ever known. The valley of the North Fork, called the Saltville Valley, was marked by the rushing stream, the majestic mountains clothed in the finery of evergreens above which towered the sturdy oak, the chestnut, the ash, and the hemlock.²⁹

One of the pioneers in the valley was William King, who dug a well in 1799 and struck salt water at two hundred feet. There were two main wells in the valley which at one time, in fact till 1800, had been a lake of salt making one huge lick used by animals and aborigines alike. The first settlers had carried sleds and utensils there and had made enough salt for their own use. William King, an itinerant merchant, observed the valley in his wanderings, bought fifty of the three hundred acres, and made a fortune therefrom. "He could have been the richest man in America with better management."³⁰ At one time the place had been offered "for a pony and a rifle gun."³¹

²⁸Ibid., 17.

²⁹William B. Kent, Saltville, Virginia (Radford, Va., 1955), 12.

³⁰Lewis P. Summers, Annals of Southwest Virginia (Abingdon, 1929), 1570.

³¹Idem.

With the assistance of some men he had hired, King dug for one hundred and ninety feet without finding anything. That night the bottom caved in and filled the well with saline water. The salt produced there -- at the rate of a bushel of salt to twenty gallons of water -- took the prize for purity and fineness in New York, the consensus being that it was finer than the Liverpool standard.³²

At thirty-eight King died without issue, leaving his fortune to a nephew of his wife, Mary Trigg, provided he should marry a daughter of King's brother, James.³³ Daniel Rogan had known these people at least from the days of his sojourn in Botetourt. Like them he had a considerable number of business interests scattered throughout the Holston Valley, all interlocking with those of other people, though his, necessarily, were of a more modest nature. His son James made more than one trip on the river freighting the salt from this point, the river being shoaly its entire length and only manageable at all after a great rise of the waters. It was an undertaking for the dauntless.³⁴

Soon after these trips, however, in 1816, James returned to his former employers in Boatyard, just beginning to be called Kingsport for the site's benefactor. Lilburn Henderson having retired, the firm bore the name George and P. S. Hale Mercantile Company. For a year's employment James was to be paid three hundred dollars.³⁵

³²Idem.

³³Idem.

³⁴Rogan, "My Life," 17.

³⁵Idem.

Besides his work in the store and his flatboating trips, James made an expedition as far east as Richmond to sell horses, but as he said, "On this trip I was not so successfull, returning home with a few." Though business and pleasure were to take him to the large eastern cities many times, it was the Old Southwest that was home, and he returned always to it with gratitude.³⁶

While the family lived in the Abingdon area, the last of the Rogan children were born, making it impossible for Daniel to count his children on his fingers. The names of the children suggest the interest of the father at the time of their birth. Rogan's record of them demonstrates his love of detailed records.

James	4 a.m.	11 Dec ^r	1797
Amos	11 a.m.	9 Sept.	1799
Griffith	3 a.m.	16 July	1800
Jones who died		14 Oct.	1802
Catherine	1 a.m.	6 Dec.	1803
Daniel	6 p.m.	1 May	1806
Maria	8 p.m.	14 April	1809

(Born Sullivan Co., Tenn.)

Rebecca	9 p.m.	29 Nov.	1811
Oliver H. Perry		5 Dec.	1815
Lilburn H. (Washington Co.)		23 Dec.	1819
Littleton H. (Sullivan Co.)		13 Jan'y.	1823 ³⁷

With a sprinkling of family, Irish, and religious names, were the names of friends -- Lilburn and Littleton Henderson and the military hero of the day. Lilburn is a good Irish name. Perhaps Littleton is the most intriguing of the names Daniel chose for his sons. It was popular

³⁶Rogan, "My Life," 18 et seq.

³⁷Ibid., 3.

on the frontier, both Virginia and North Carolina having early settlements so designated. At about the time Littleton Rogan was born, however, Daniel was not only buying books again but was acting in semilegal capacity in the settlement of estates, the writing of wills, and the liquidation of businesses. His son, Griffith, was already a magistrate in Washington County, Virginia.³⁸ It could have been that Daniel was familiar with the great medieval English jurist Littleton whose Tenures in legal French formed the basis of English landholding laws. The book could have been among the number he brought with him.

In the days before newspapers sprang up in every hamlet, the average man lived for posterity in the records of the courthouse, the church, and the cemetery. Few of the early settlers in the Valley, moving as frequently as they did, could keep family letters, accounts, and diaries. The art of writing was not entirely universal in Daniel's day, the record books being liberally sprinkled with the letter X. Buildings burned. Gravestones crumbled. Church buildings were replaced. Human dust mingled with Valley soil, and later arrivals moved over the spot unaware of its past.

Saved from the common fate of much of the world, Daniel Rogan had a family which wrote -- letters, diaries, anagrams, poetry, travel articles, sermons, deeds, wills, memoirs, histories, society columns, news reports, weather and geological and ornithological reports for the government, songs, telegrams, business accounts. In no category of human

³⁸Deed Book 5, 7, 8, Will Book 4, 5, 6, Washington County, Virginia.

records were the Rogans more lively than in the spotted pages of the estate records that have been preserved in the Valley courthouses of the counties where they resided.

When the nomad Daniel moved to Sullivan County, Tennessee, the paths of inland commerce were beginning to throb with activity. Boatyard was a series of residences, businesses, warehouses, boatbuilding yards, and at least one inn, stretched out along the north bank of the river facing Long Island. Farther back up the mountainside dwellings were clustered. As the land in this area had belonged originally to large landowners from Virginia and North Carolina, which had contested ownership of it, the sections of Boatyard bore the names of the developers. Thus when on May 21, 1810, Daniel Rogan paid Robert Christian forty-three dollars for "a lot of land," it lay "in the town of Christianville, commonly called Boatyard, next to the lot of Robert Preston."³⁹

When James Rogan was approaching his majority he paid "\$70 to the executors of the estate of David Ross" and received title to

Lot 17, fronting on Water Street in the Town of Rossville on the Holston River above its junction with the North Fork River, beginning at Front Street at a stake on the second corner of Lot 16, then North 85, West 4 poles to a stake at the beginning corner of Lot 18, thence North 5 degrees, East 10 poles to the alley 1 pole wide, thence South 5, West 10 poles to the beginning.⁴⁰

³⁹Deed Book 6, Sullivan County, Tennessee, 65 (Courthouse at Blountville). The families Christian, Preston, and Rogan had been neighbors in Botetourt days.

⁴⁰Deed Book 7, Sullivan County, Tennessee, 374.

This land, a quarter of an acre in extent, was only the beginning of James' real estate investments. He obtained the property as well as the lot adjoining it at a very reasonable price, land values having soared since Daniel's purchase, because of his friendship with the Ross heir, Fred.⁴¹ When on November 15, 1822, Daniel bought lot 19 from John Martin, the Rogans owned three contiguous lots of valuable water-front property.⁴² After Daniel's return from Saltville, he began to acquire other holdings, including "one parcel of a half acre, a front lot next to the river, Cress Street to Main Street to a lot occupied by the Myers, White, and Rogan [his own firm]...May 15, 1827."⁴³ This acquisition brought the Rogans into a prominent position among the business property owners along the waterway. Griffith Rogan having invested in a business in Sullivan, Daniel deeded him "lot 19 on Second Street" where he, too, entered upon a mercantile career.⁴⁴

These young men of Irish inheritance appear from the records to have been reluctant to sell property they had owned, and even after Daniel's death when Littleton and Lilburn as executors had to dispose of two hundred and seventy-five acres of his farm on Bays Mountain to settle an account with Paulser Whitzell, Griffith and Daniel, Jr., bought the property themselves.⁴⁵

⁴¹Rogan, "My Life," 18.

⁴²Deed Book 8, Sullivan County, Tennessee, 315.

⁴³Deed Book 10, Sullivan County, Tennessee, 500.

⁴⁴Ibid., 461.

⁴⁵Deed Book 24, Sullivan County, Tennessee, 368.

Daniel evidently tried to own his homesite as well as his business property, whether in Virginia or East Tennessee. He bought an interest in the valuable Saltville Valley property from one of the large owners. For six hundred and fifty dollars and other valuable considerations, he bought 33 acres above the mouth of Mockison Creek.⁴⁶ Three years later he paid David Campbell two hundred dollars for one hundred and ten acres adjoining his smaller property and sold it within three years to Christopher Chaney for five hundred dollars.⁴⁷

In all the recorded economic endeavors of Daniel Rogan, the involved legal aspects of the settling of the estate of his former partner -- Lilburn L. Henderson -- provide for the curious inquirer the most interesting information. Appointed by Judge William Jones as true and lawful attorneys to appraise and dispose of this estate, according to law and will, were Daniel Rogan, Joseph C. Trigg, and John Fulton. These men were "to sell for no less than \$1200 eleven acres of land to be added to the personal estate, to satisfy a debt owed Martin Beatty," partner of the late Henderson, and at one time similarly associated with Rogan and Trigg.⁴⁸

The inventory of Henderson's personal property is a composite of that owned by enterprising frontiersmen and Tidewater folk of the period. A small sampling of the items reveals the mode of living of these Valley

⁴⁶Deed Book 7, Washington County, Virginia, 196.

⁴⁷Deed Book 11, Washington County, Virginia, 361-362. It is evident, however, that after the disposal of this real estate, Daniel retained his interest in the business of the area. Rogan, "My Life," 19.

⁴⁸Deed Book 7, Washington County, Virginia, 213.

people and suggests that in order to collect only household articles much "freighting and hauling" was needed.

1 pier glass attached to wall	25.00	
Brass knob fender and andirons	95.00	
10 Windsor chairs	10.00	
13 D ^o	15.00	
1 sideboard	100.00	
1 DR	50.00	
6 brass candlesticks	3.00	
8 waiters, assorted sizes	20.00	
1 pr. plated stirrup irons	5.00	
1 deal desk	18.00	
1 doz. elegant chairs	30.00	
1 pr. candleshades	20.00	
1 bedstead, bed, and clothes	50.00	
$\frac{1}{2}$ bl. salt in cellar	16.00	
1 still	200.00	
16 still tubs	16.00	
12 $\frac{1}{2}$ bu. rye	16.00	49
4 oxen	60.00	
1 ox wagon, 1 body, 2 chains, 2 yokes	75.00	
1 negro man Dick	500.00	
1 X cut saw	5.00	
3 stoneware vessels	1.00	
1 large spinning wheel	1.00	
1 gold watch	75.00	
1 pr. pistols and holsters	10.00	
1 dirk	5.00	50

With apparently unlimited choice among the possessions of his late and closest friend, Daniel chose to buy the following items:

1 clock	10.00	
1 table	3.00	
1 cupboard	12.00	
1 framed picture	7.50	
1 fifth chair	2.00	
1 large kettle	3.62 $\frac{1}{2}$	51

⁴⁹Will Book 4, Washington County, Virginia, 333.

⁵⁰Ibid., 334.

⁵¹Ibid., 340.

The sale was held April 18, 1820, and from personal property sold, valued at \$9829.01½, the sum of \$3884.85 was realized.⁵² The fate of the eighteen slaves listed for sale was not disclosed, but their disposal separately was not difficult even in this democratic society of the Valley.⁵³ Rogan was allowed one hundred dollars for his efforts.⁵⁴

This case dragged on until Daniel was the sole surviving executor. Debts owed by the estate were piling up interest. In September, 1833, Daniel sold two lots in Abingdon to his son, James, to satisfy claims against the Henderson estate arising from the activities of the firm of Henderson and Trigg after Henderson's death.⁵⁵ In 1834, Daniel was forced to sell sixty-four of his own acres, which had cost him more than eighteen hundred dollars when he had bought them from Edward Campbell, to close out the long legal tangle.⁵⁶

When Daniel began his efforts to liquidate his friend's affairs he had been thirty-nine years old. When Griffith put his seal of office on the final document, his father was sixty-three. He was no longer a stranger in America.

⁵²Ibid., 340-343.

⁵³Deed Book 7, Washington County, Virginia.

⁵⁴Will Book 5, Washington County, Virginia, 108-112.

⁵⁵Deed Book 11, Washington County, Virginia, 144.

⁵⁶Deed Book 12, Washington County, Virginia, 38.

CHAPTER III

TWO DECADES OF TENNESSEE SOCIETY

Education and professional training were informal matters in East Tennessee. Thus, though there were few educated surgeons or doctors, those there were, as well as laymen, scarcely hesitated to perform what operations were necessary, with courage and often with skill. Catherine, for instance, in her childbearing, had to depend on neighbors as well as on a local physician, who was not always available.¹ Yet she lost no children in childbirth.

In the practice of law, in which the Rogans engaged professionally as well as semiofficially, good common sense was essential. A knowledge of the local citizenry stood the magistrates in good stead when cases came before them. An attorney with a gift of talk and a quick, penetrating wit sharpened against that of equally gifted companions, was often preferred to one who quoted at length from musty books. For instance, Andrew Jackson, who practiced before the court in Blountville, the county seat of Sullivan County, won much of his support, not because he remembered so much from his study, but because he had learned human nature.² Both Daniel and his son, Griffith, perhaps qualified for their magistracies more because of their widespread movements and acquaintance-

¹Rogan, "Biography"; Putnam, op. cit., 152.

²Marquis James, Andrew Jackson, The Border Captain (New York, 1933), 36-41, 47.

ships than for their learning.³ Fees fluctuated. Salaries were totally or in part paid by commodities which in turn had been deposited with the county by taxpayers. In 1809 a few years after Daniel Rogan moved to Sullivan County, one judge of the Superior Court -- Andrew Jackson -- was paid fifty pounds of meat for his services.⁴

Barter, in general, was common. Rogan in his mercantile business, left a record of pasturage exchanged for labor as late as 1810.⁵ In turn he may have paid his taxes according to the schedule, which permitted one fourth of the assessment to be paid in corn; up to one half in beef, pork, or venison; a minimum of one eighth in money to defray the expense of removing the provisions.⁶ In order to standardize payments of this kind, values were set for the produce: corn, four bushels for fifty cents; beef, five dollars per hundred weight; salt, sixteen dollars a bushel.⁷

Despite such conditions, Boatyard and its environs were not attractive only to the frontiersmen. From the Tidewater came a number of prominent families either soon after or a few years before Daniel arrived. One of these was the Richard Netherlands, who came to the area

³Deed Book 7, Sullivan County, Tennessee, 374 et seq.; Deed Book 12, 38 et seq.

⁴Putnam, op. cit., 235.

⁵Daniel Rogan, Ledger Page, Rogan Papers.

⁶Putnam, op. cit., 279.

⁷Idem.

soon after 1810. Not only was Netherland's property near that of Daniel Rogan, but the interests of these men were rather closely identified in several fields. Both had families of children of like ages and both were deeply involved in transportation. Of a good family which possessed large landholdings in York and Goochland counties, conservative and orthodox, associated with the Randolphs in social and religious matters,⁸ Netherland came to the Holston to occupy about a thousand acres which his wife had inherited from her ancestors, including the Long Island.

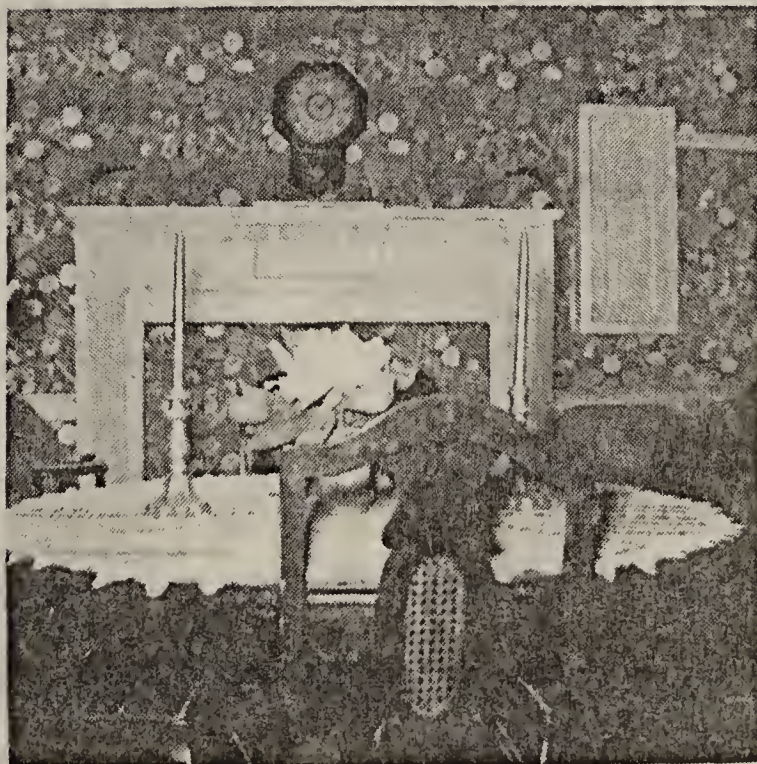
In 1818 Netherland was living on his beautiful property, the Long Island. Soon afterwards he built in the village.⁹ Not long after his arrival at Boatyard, Netherland had acquired a property now known as the Old Netherland Inn. In the early 1800's it sat facing the untamed river. Three stories high, with stone basement and first floor walls several feet thick, its main floor was high above ground level on the front, though the mountainside at the rear gave direct access to this floor. An enclosed walkway led above the road from the main door to the wharf and warehouse on the water's edge.¹⁰ At the inn Netherland dispensed

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⁸Bishop William Meade, Old Churches and Families of Virginia (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1857), I, 387, II, 34; Rogan, "Biography."

⁹Frederick A. Ross, The Story of Rotherwood, The Autobiography of Reverend Frederick A. Ross, D.D., Based on Letters to a Lady of Knoxville (Knoxville, 1923), 15.

¹⁰Conversation with Mrs. Nettie Cloud, August 30, 1955. Mrs. Cloud, the present owner of the inn, now ninety-two years of age, is a relative of the Netherlands. Her husband bought the inn for four hundred and fifty dollars in the late nineteenth century. The accepted date for the erection of the building, 1812, is obviously in error, according to its present owner. Bricks recovered from the rubble of the chimney after it was struck by lightning a half century ago bore the imprint 1790, and repairmen, after a fire, disclosed materials and construction methods in use at an even earlier date.



Netherland Inn

the usual drinks through the window of one of the few real English bars in all the Old Southwest, through an opening that could be closed. The floor of the bar had a trap door to the cellar which could be reached easily for supplies. The bar could be closed in case of violence, the cellar forming an excellent refuge. A secret movable section of the wall was said to form an exit to the outside world in early days.¹¹ Netherland served meals to the public and furnished beds for the travelers, among whom were the Rogans, John Sevier, Andrew Jackson, David Crockett, and notables and renegades of various prominence.¹²

Tavern rates varied slightly from time to time and from place to place, but being regulated by law during this early period, they were more or less uniform. The stated price of drinks was as follows:

1 half pint such as will sink tallow, 2 shillings; bowl of toddy made with loaf sugar and whiskey, 3 shillings, six pence; 1 quart bowl of punch with fruit, 10 shillings; dinner and grog, 4 shillings and six pence.¹³ One plain whiskey, 1 quart, \$1; dinner, 2 shillings; supper and breakfast, 1 and 6.¹⁴

Among Netherland's nine children were twins, Richard and Sarah, and an infant, John. Though they were younger than the first of Daniel's children they associated with the Rogan family.

¹¹Conversation with Mrs. Nettie Cloud, August 30, 1960.

¹²Idem; also James Rogan Memorandum, Rogan Papers.

¹³Putnam, op. cit., 252.

¹⁴Ibid., 285.

In 1818 came another representative of the Tidewater who was to play an important and dominating role in the life of the Rogans. Frederick A. Ross came riding into Boatyard to "occupy his acres" and to compete in the vibrant society of the Holston settlements. Determined to maintain his status as gentleman and overlord of properties and people, he was destined to bring both inspiration and confusion into the entire Valley. Portraying himself as something of a Lochinvar riding on a romantic mission from the east, he soon found in Kingsport an old friend from his Cumberland County home, Richard Netherland, and at once he began the association that was to bring bankruptcy to both of them.¹⁵ Under the paternal care of the ex-Virginian, Ross spent long pleasant hours at the stands hunting, especially the plentiful deer -- Netherland with his shotgun, Ross with his rifle.¹⁶ To these hunting forays Netherland had gone forth on his horse, Old Half-hammer, so called because of a limp that resembled the motion of a tip hammer in a blacksmith's shop.¹⁷

Among others whom the young dandy from the Tidewater met were the Rogan boys, though for reasons of his own, their names never appear on the pages of his autobiography, as indeed for the same reasons he never mentioned the younger Netherlands. Later events made his association with these families so delicate a matter that he referred to them only as "elders in my church." To the Rogans and Netherlands, after much

¹⁵Ross, op. cit., 15.

¹⁶Idem.

¹⁷Idem.

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intimacy in social, business, and religious life, his name for some years became a synonym for worldly deceit.¹⁸

To at least one Rogan, Ross was always a beloved brother. Born almost a year to the day before James, Fred inherited great estates in Virginia and East Tennessee, but the Virginia estates and the Oxford Iron Works, including five hundred slaves who labored there, had to be sold for debt.¹⁹ At the same time that James Rogan was fighting the rivers and the mountain passes with his cargoes, Ross was traveling to Boatyard "the way a gentleman traveled in 1818,"²⁰ as he expressed his opinion of his manner of traveling in his early life. He added that he

rode a fine horse. All saddle, bridle, Martingale, were of white leather. Steel bit and stirrups -- the latter I remember cost \$20. The servant, the handsomest man in the household, rode as fine a horse as his master and had behind him on a pillion a small trunk, called a portmanteau...large enough to contain the wardrobe. No gentleman in those days ever rode on a pair of saddlebags or his servant either.... If the gentleman chose to rub his handkerchief over the neck of his horses, there would be no dust...their legs and their bodies /would/ shine like satin and the bits, curbs and stirrups would be bright as silver.²¹

Somehow between Ross and James Rogan there existed a strong affinity. It was from Ross that James acquired his building lot in Kingsport,

¹⁸Daniel Rogan to F. A. Ross, n.d. (Daniel Rogan died in 1842); James Rogan to F. A. Ross, August, 1877, Rogan Papers.

¹⁹Ross, op. cit., 7.

²⁰Ibid., 8-9.

²¹Idem.

for a nominal sum that was returned, upon which James erected, as he said, "with a good deal of my own labor at spare times a two story building (Dwelling), having four rooms."²²

During this period betting as well as barter played an important part in the commerce of East Tennessee. "I will give or take six-forty" was a familiar term when an issue was in doubt or a matter to be settled. One block of land was exchanged for three axes and two cowbells.²³ Always in demand were rifles and clear-toned bells. The commodities which James carried down the river contained those articles as well as iron and salt.²⁴ Salt, of course, was the universal seasoning and preservative, used for the meat of domestic animals as well as for the game at hand -- birds, bison, bear, and deer. The housewife needed it for her johnnycakes, ash-cakes, and hoecakes. "Salt was precious and precious scarce," and did not lose its savor.²⁵

Knox County, the terminus of James' earliest flatboating trips, served as distributing point for a large sector of the state which it could not from its own products supply.²⁶ In all East Tennessee the total population in 1830 was 196,000,²⁷ a large fraction of which was new since

²²Rogan, "My Life," 36.

²³Putnam, op. cit., 320.

²⁴Rogan, "Biography."

²⁵Putnam, op. cit., 156.

²⁶U. S., Abstract of the Returns of the Fifth Census (Washington, 1832), 28.

²⁷Idem.

For a complete and accurate account of the events of the day, the reader is referred to the report of the day's work, which is given in the appendix.

The first of the series of experiments was conducted on the 1st of June, 1911, at the University of California, Berkeley. The object of the experiment was to determine the effect of the temperature of the water on the rate of the reaction. The results of the experiment are given in the table on page 10. It will be seen that the rate of the reaction increases with the temperature of the water. This is to be expected, since the rate of a chemical reaction is known to increase with the temperature.

The second of the series of experiments was conducted on the 2nd of June, 1911, at the University of California, Berkeley. The object of the experiment was to determine the effect of the concentration of the reactants on the rate of the reaction. The results of the experiment are given in the table on page 11. It will be seen that the rate of the reaction increases with the concentration of the reactants. This is to be expected, since the rate of a chemical reaction is known to increase with the concentration of the reactants.

TABLE I

Rate of reaction at different temperatures

Temperature, °C.

Rate of reaction

For a complete and accurate account of the events of the day, the reader is referred to the report of the day's work, which is given in the appendix.

TABLE II

the previous census. Ten years previously in this eastern valley the industries were similar and fairly evenly distributed along the river. The common items of manufacture were chairs, boots and shoes, flour, tin plates, and hats.²⁸ In fact, the production of hats was the second highest item in the list of manufactured goods.²⁹ By far the largest industry was the production of whiskey -- its value in Knox County alone being more than fifty thousand dollars.³⁰ Necessities had to be imported.

The poor people of East Tennessee traded with boatmen but relied on their own resources first of all. When they could not buy woollen covers they used dressed hides, probably left after bartering for the boatmen's treasures. They still depended on moccasins when they had nothing to barter for upriver shoes.³¹ Others like David Crockett were still wearing leather breeches when Rogan pulled to the bank to trade, though such garments were becoming scarcer. The coonskin cap and the hunting shirt remained for a long time.³² But river traffic, in addition to staples, brought brocades, furbelows, and flounces, and, in consequence, the looking glass.³³ It was linsey-woolseys, however, which,

²⁸U. S., Digest of Accounts of Manufacturing Establishments in the United States and of Their Manufactures, Fourth Census, 1820 (Washington, 1823), II, District of East Tennessee.

²⁹Idem.

³⁰Idem.

³¹Putnam, op. cit., 144.

³²James Phelan, History of Tennessee, The Making of a State (Boston, 1889), 180; Rogan, "My Life," 14.

³³Phelan, op. cit., 180.

amid the picturesque extremes, remained staple.

When the people developed a taste for industries and exotic fabrics, they tried to satisfy it at one time by weaving silk from their own cocoons grown on their own mulberry trees.³⁴ The Rogans, eager as usual, invested in the new luxury industry -- to their sorrow.

As James was growing into maturity, the younger children in the family were inheritors of the improved educational facilities of the area and the economic advancement of their father. Schools existed even before the Rogans arrived. Academies had been established by various agencies, often becoming sectarian in character regardless of the initial impulse which caused their creation. Today it is difficult to determine, because so little unbiased reporting has been done on the subject, whether the great teachers of the period were Irish Catholics, who had deserted the old faith, or Scotch-Irish Presbyterians.³⁵ But to these institutions -- Tusculum, Blount, Maryville -- went Rogan and Netherland boys to sit at the feet of Presbyterian divines, many of whom were products of Log College. Doak, Carrick -- men with names as Irish as Rogan -- instilled in their students such an education as Daniel Rogan, Sr., possessed and his son, James, too busy, too old, and too poor to acquire, always

³⁴Ross, op. cit., 20.

³⁵Henry J. Ford, The Scotch-Irish in America (Princeton, 1915), passim; Forrester, "A Study of the Migration of Catholics to the Tennessee Valley Region from 1769 to 1810," passim; Richard J. Purcell, "Pioneer Irish Educators in Early Tennessee," Catholic Education Review, XXXIV (September, 1936), passim; J. G. Craighead, Scotch and Irish Seeds in American Soil (Philadelphia, 1878), passim.

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admired.³⁶ The young Daniel Rogan learned his lesson well, participated in the New School controversy, and though he died in good favor with his old church, always clung to the side of emotion in religion.³⁷

Public support of these and other educational institutions varied, because the land-hungry Tennesseans pre-empted the lands set aside for their financial assistance from the Indian cessions. As the legislature set apart new acreages they understandably became more distant and less valuable, so that fees for attendance played an ever-larger part in the successful operation of the schools.³⁸

While his younger brothers were busy with the affairs of childhood and youth, James Rogan busied himself with the affairs of a young man. Having built a dwelling, he set about to secure a mistress for it. On September 22, 1822, at the Netherland home, James Rogan and Sarah Netherland, then sixteen, were married.³⁹ James wrote that

Soon after...gathered my little all and went to housekeeping in the verry same building sometime before prepared for this verry purpose.... Felt no desire for a bridal tour to New York or any of the watering places to add to our happiness, for it was complete being King and Queen of our own realm, possessors of our own dominion, clear of all enthrallment. This dear and precious wife was a twin and one of the youngest daughters of Richard and Margaret /Wood/ Netherland, Born in Powhattan County, Va., 30th day of May, 1806.⁴⁰

³⁶Rogan, "Daniel Rogan, Sen."

³⁷Idem.

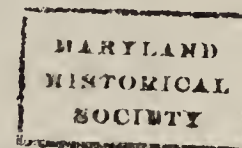
³⁸Tennessee, House Journal (1824), 80.

³⁹Rogan, "My Life," 24.

⁴⁰Ibid., 25.

The building of this house could hardly have been an expensive project by our standards. Less than a decade earlier during the war with Britain and the "flush times of money," Daniel Rogan, in business at Boatyard, made out a bill for goods and services "to erect a house, 20 by 26 ft., 2 storys high, at Salt Wharf by Samuel Knott for L. L. Henderson." James Rogan's house must have been similar to the Henderson building, the estimate for which was, in part, thus:⁴¹

2600' weatherboarding	18.00
100 panes of glass	16.66 2/3
7 locks	8.75
5000 shingles	15.00
Total (materials)	241.88
Carpenter's bill	<u>309.39</u>
Total	551.27



By eliminating most of the carpenter's expense, Rogan must have acquired his "Realm" rather reasonably even for his time.

Daniel Rogan had had dealings with David Ross before the son, Fred, arrived in the Valley. A statement of Ross' account, kept entirely in English terms, shows charges for "Phoebe's hire," corn, a canoe, a fish trap, pasture rent, tables, chairs, a bed, the exchange of cotton baling for an under bed, and -- curiously -- another in a long list of frontier inventions, a washing machine. The total came to £25-16-10½, plus £8-18-6 carried forward.⁴²

Besides business, education, and population expansion, East Tennessee was involved in the wave of religion and reform. Daniel, with

⁴¹Daniel Rogan to L. L. Henderson, n.d., Rogan Papers.

⁴²David Ross due to Daniel Rogan, n.d., Rogan Papers.

an addiction to writing poetry, entered upon anagram and charade building, inspired no doubt by the prohibition societies which, having begun before the turn of the century, lasted for almost half a century, wafted in by the winds of the Great Revival and fanned into life by the puritanical wings of the evangelical sects.⁴³ Ever ready with his pen to fix a local mood, for the moment or for posterity, Daniel wrote many lampoons, ridiculing not only the demon rum but tipplers, taverns, tea drinkers, and reformers as well.

In the very earliest of his Tennessee days, Daniel wrote a mock lecture containing a set of oratorical Twenty Questions, all of which were answered by himself in acrostics conceived on the letters R, U, M, with questions and answers like the following: "What is rum produced from?" "Rancied, unsound molasses." "By whom is rum made?" "Ragged, unclean menials." "Who imports it into our country?" "Rich, unsatiable merchants."⁴⁴ Not once does he repeat, his vocabulary increasing in precision, flexibility, and erudition as his lecture develops.⁴⁵

A few years before his death, Daniel penned on the back of an envelope addressed to his wife a short doggerel which is probably facetious rather than personal, a good-natured tirade against strong drink.

⁴³Daniel Rogan, Anagrams and Charades, Rogan Papers.

⁴⁴Daniel Rogan, Lecture on Rum, Rogan Papers.

⁴⁵Not only Daniel, but his children and grandchildren as well, were obsessed by a love of words. James Wood Rogan when he was in his sixty-fourth year built thirty-seven variations upon the letters of his name: Rogan, organ, groan, etc. James W. Rogan, Farm Diary, January 26, 1884-July 6, 1884, February, 1884, typed copy in the possession of the author.

Keen and cold was the wintry blast, And sleet
 and snow were falling fast
 As through the street I briskly passed, But
 shall I tell
 I too much wine that day had sipped, And
 awkwardly I sometimes tripped.
 At last upon my feet I slipped, And prostrate
 fell,
 But soon again sprang to my feet. I took more
 care and crossed the street
 To where invited to a treat of cakes and tea.
 But ere had filled the first a cup, The cat
 the second had lapped up
 And did not leave a single sip for me.⁴⁶

In addition to these small literary offerings written to amuse others, Daniel was accustomed to setting up geometric equations to be solved and constructing figures upon his results. Occasionally he drew in his margins caricatures which were humorous and lifelike.

The Rogans were affected by the great upsurge of religious fervor which swept Tennessee with regular and increasing intensity. In 1811 an unusually fervid response to the ministers of the revival circuit brought to the penitents' bench a young man named James Gallaher who was destined to be one of Fate's instruments not only in causing almost a century of discord between Presbyterians and Methodists, but also in helping sever the old Scottish church itself into the Old School (or Old Side) and New School divisions.⁴⁷ Licensed to preach in 1815, he occupied the pulpit of two Hawkins County churches from 1816 to 1830. "A minister of

⁴⁶Rogan, Anagrams, Rogan Papers.

⁴⁷James W. Rogan, "Hawkins County," Rogersville Review, December 19, 1889-November 27, 1890, September, 1890, typed copy in the possession of the author; Minutes of the General Assembly, 1789-1820 (Philadelphia, 1847), 130-131.

great eloquence and personal magnetism...during his pastorate there were frequent and extensive revivals" in his own church and throughout the Valley.⁴⁸

Gallagher's brother in Calvinism, James Glenn of nearby Boatyard or Kingsport, joined with him to hold a protracted meeting at the thriving inland port. On September 22, 1823, James and his wife responded to their call and joined the Presbyterian Church.⁴⁹ James Glenn also performed most of the marriage ceremonies for the Rogan family.⁵⁰

At the same protracted meeting Ross became a member of the Presbyterian Church.⁵¹ Ross also turned away from bachelorhood. At Jonesboro, to which the Kingsport meeting moved after three weeks, Ross first saw Theodosia Vance, who became his wife. On December 16, 1823, she and Ross were married.⁵²

While the Rosses held court at Rotherwood, a mansion Frederick had built on his property on the Holston, James and Sarah became the parents of their first-born child, James Wood. His arrival prevented the presence of his mother at the Ross wedding the following day. On Jan-

⁴⁸Rogan, "Hawkins County," September, 1890. Almost all the writings of James W. Rogan were painstakingly copied from scattered sources by Mr. Prentiss Price, Rogersville, Tennessee, over a period of years.

⁴⁹Rogan, "My Life," 19.

⁵⁰Idem.

⁵¹Ross, op. cit., 30.

⁵²Ibid., 5.

uary 14, 1825, Maria Netherland Rogan was born in the two-story house on Water Street.⁵³

Soon afterwards James received an offer from Colonel James White of Abingdon to join in a business partnership far down the river at Gunter's Landing, Alabama, in land still possessed by the Indians. Still clinging to hill and river, he moved down the stream on the only conveyance available, a flatboat, and prepared a new home on the banks of the Tennessee.⁵⁴ Frederick Ross, his friend, likewise inspired to change his field of endeavor, went off to study for the ministry. But the lives of the Rogans and the Rosses were not yet to be dissevered. Ross, too, would follow the river to the Great Bend.⁵⁵

⁵³Rogan, "My Life," 39.

⁵⁴Ibid., 25.

⁵⁵Ross, op. cit., 6.

CHAPTER IV

CAREERS, CRIMINALS, COMMERCE

Even after the United States recognized the back country by putting a tax on spirituous liquors, the frontier continued to take care of most of its problems of defense and law enforcement. Though the Treaty of Greenville put an end to organized Indian raids, the aborigines remained for some time a source of uneasiness to the body of whites who multiplied daily along the main thoroughfares and began to infiltrate the creek valleys and mountain caves. Another matter causing concern to the stable population was the presence of the drifter. In the river towns there was an especial attraction for the adventurer, the scalawag, the plain criminal seeking a victim or escape. Court, held at Blountville or Rogersville or elsewhere in the valley, followed the pattern for "court day" throughout the South. Every man had an opportunity to know the prominent upholders of law -- old John Sevier, whose family ranged up and down the river, leaving their names on official record books; the Gaines family, which furnished generals for several wars; Andrew Jackson, wearing a gun and going to church and trying to upset the political career of "Nolichucky Jack;" the visitor John Overton, who would one day go with Andrew Jackson to visit James King to borrow money for buying Chickasaw Bluffs, now Memphis. East Tennessee was an exciting place in which to live.

However, with the average man it was not always the questionable tactics of the political leaders or the depredations of the scoundrels which affected him. It was more frequently the moral deviations of neighbors which lingered in the memory.

No class left behind a less gentlemanly reputation than the river men, the flatboatmen, the keelboatmen, the roustabouts associated with river traffic. In fact, these "alligator-horses" of early river transportation appear today to have perpetuated legends of their own dissolute and reckless natures. Mike Fink and his crew became the prototype of all river boatmen. Daring and strong they had to be, but it does not necessarily follow that the obligation was upon them to become degenerates. In fact, quite a contrary instance could be cited when Daniel and Catherine Rogan permitted, or probably arranged for, the "signing on" of their twelve-year-old son, James, who had never been away from home more than a day, as a keelboat hand on an expedition to carry salt to Knoxville for James King, dispatched by his shipping agent, Daniel.¹

But James' life was not all flatboating. At George and P. S. Hale Company, he slept in the store at night, his father's family at this time living at Abingdon, to which point they had moved during James' absence in Kentucky. One night in late winter torrents of rain began to fall. James lay on his bed listening. Already the loaded boats were waiting for the water that would lift them from their beachheads and endow them with their function. "Early the next morning before it was fairly day," Rogan rose from his bed, and from the counting room where he had been sleeping, rushed out onto the portico, anxiously hoping for the sight of the freshet that gladdened his boatman's heart. Because dawn still held back, he leaned against the door to the store which opened also onto the porch. The door flew open under his weight.²

¹Rogan, "My Life," 12.

²Ibid., 72.

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Shocked at the occurrence and at the thought that he had failed to put the bar on the door, James "quickly procured a light and to his horror found all the drawers had been opened and papers scattered hither and thither." Some eight hundred dollars in cash and three thousand in a notebook were missing.³ "It is hard," he wrote, "to conceive my feelings of distress, thinking that my negligence had caused the loss." Someone later discovered that a transom glass had been removed, allowing the bar to be lifted through the opening. "This," said James, "to a great degree removed my agony of mind, yet to think all this was done without awakening me was still grievous to me."⁴

A few days later the book of notes was found where it had been discarded. Then people of the village recalled that another store had been entered and robbed a few months before -- surely an indication that crime was not so rampant as might be imagined from the legendary character of the river towns. Those who were involved began investigations to determine who the culprit might be. Some time elapsed before suspicion settled on a saddler who was frequently away from home, his movements being clothed by the darkness of the night. When once he returned with a drove of horses with which he immediately left for market, it was decided that James and a young man representing the other victimized firm should follow the saddler and examine the money with which he paid his bills.⁵

Without success in recognizing any of the money, the pursuers

³Ibid., 83.

⁴Ibid., 84.

⁵Ibid., 85.

were startled when they suddenly in North Carolina came upon the saddler waiting for them. He informed them that he knew their reason for being there and that he would consent to search. Knowing that if guilty he had protected himself against detection, they performed the task and left. "Never remember seeing that man again," James noted.⁶ Thus, crime and detection on the frontier followed the established pattern.

Another instance, this time of violence, remained vivid in James Rogan's mind. In 1815 before the trip to Kentucky, while Daniel operated a business in Bristol in connection with his contract with King, James was working in his father's store and sleeping in the counting room of that establishment, which was near the family residence. At that time he was seventeen.⁷ Close friends of the Rogans were a Mr. Ware, overseer and manager for James King -- a "good, clever, and honest man," a widower -- and his two teen-age daughters. The older daughter, Rebecca, was a very handsome and intelligent young woman who was addicted to novel reading. To this "exciting, poisonous trash she devoted most of her time by day and night."⁸

Among the other residents of the village was a younger brother of James King, a close friend and business associate of Daniel, a "gentleman much beloved and esteemed...a single man leading a bachelor's life." To Rebecca Ware and other ladies he paid court until his attention was attracted by a young woman growing up in his brother's household. Nevertheless, the "flames of deep-rooted love had been aroused in the bosom of

⁶Ibid., 86.

⁷Ibid., 74.

⁸Ibid., 75.

the beauteous Rebecca Ware."⁹

"One bleak, cold, and dark night in the month of November at late hours, during the prevalence of a keen, whistling storm," the Rogan family was alarmed by a loud knocking on the house. Thinking someone was in distress, Daniel flung open the door upon the wintry blast. Standing before him -- and the aroused children, by then nine in number -- was a stranger swathed in heavy wraps and obscured by the "thick darkness." Unable to distinguish who the visitor might be, Daniel could elicit by his questions as to the visitor's identity only the answer, "'a benighted stranger' voiced in suppressed and mournful tones." But the voice and the form across which the flickering light fell suggested that the caller was a female.¹⁰ Proof of the suspicion came when the stranger sought information as to the marital intentions of the younger King and the young lady in his brother's household. Daniel dismissed the caller by advising her to seek information from the young lady, who would best know, and withdrew with his family to discuss the caller's identity.¹¹

Three days afterwards at the "dead hour" when James was asleep in the counting room, the cry of fire rang out. Confused and thinking the fire was in the family residence, he had trouble finding the door. Once he was outside, James was relieved to discover that the blaze was in the barn not far away, but was distressed to see that large, commodious frame building enveloped in the flames. Large quantities of hay, grain,

⁹Ibid., 76.

¹⁰Ibid., 77.

¹¹Ibid., 78.

several wagons, farming implements, and eighteen fine large draft horses -- the means of a freighter's livelihood -- all were consumed.¹²

As there was no one else to suspect of arson but the "benighted stranger," suspicion fell on Rebecca Ware, who was soon arrested and placed under guard in her father's house. James was one of those whose watch came at night. Women were present to keep Rebecca company. Shortly before dawn the guards granted her request to take a short walk to get some fresh air. When daylight came, the guards found, where she had thrown it, a shingle upon which Rebecca had written threats of revenge against King and of burning every building associated with his business, a design, the prisoner boasted, "not even Lord Wellington and all his army could prevent."¹³

After another night when James again stood guard, a trial was held before the inferior court, which found Rebecca guilty. But because of feelings of sympathy for the girl and her relatives, judgment was tempered and the family was banished from Sullivan, a punishment deemed sufficient even for her "enormous crime."¹⁴

For thirty years James heard no more of this family. In 1845 he learned that Mrs. James Walker of Ripley, Mississippi, was Rebecca Ware's sister. But he never spoke to her about the matter or mentioned it to anyone. Rebecca married and lived in Jackson County, Alabama. When

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid., 80.

¹⁴Ibid., 81.

James visited East Tennessee in 1878 he was shown a letter from members of the family asking permission to visit and to be treated with respect.¹⁵ Thus as society advanced, the antisocial were driven on ahead.

Though James was the oldest of Daniel's children, he was not the only one who sought employment. Amos, two years younger, also took readily to commerce and the river, and when James at eighteen initiated a business of his own, both mercantile and freighting, he took Amos into association with him. At about the same time James married, Amos married Jane Smith of Sullivan, and instead of following James along the frontier of river and hill, remained in Kingsport for a while, and then moved to Hancock County, Indiana.¹⁶ His first son, however, born in 1822, he named for his brother, and when Amos died in 1834, James Rogan took his namesake and "raised him in his family until he was nearly grown."¹⁷

James' brother Daniel, nine years younger, was educated at Maryville College, Blount County, Tennessee. Ordained by the Union Presbytery in April, 1831, he spent two years in missionary work among the Indians but lived in Kingsport much of his life.¹⁸ At this point Daniel often had the opportunity to preach before people of prominence and at least once before the President of the United States.

¹⁵Ibid., 82.

¹⁶Ibid., 3.

¹⁷Rogan, "Family Record," 7; Rogan, "My Life," 3.

¹⁸Christian Observer and Commonwealth, Richmond, Virginia, April 27, 1881, 2.

On Sunday, July 27, 1836, while the Rev. Daniel Rogan was preaching in the Presbyterian Church, then on Graveyard Hill, a distinguished party drove up to attend the meeting. It consisted of Andrew Jackson, then President; A. J. Donelson, afterwards candidate for Vice-President; Colonel McClellan, afterwards Congressman from Sullivan, and about fifteen others, some riding in carriages, others on horseback. Seeing the party on the outside, the preacher stopped short in his discourse, announced the arrival of the president, parceled out a hymn, and all joined in the singing, thus avoiding confusion while the party entered. The song being finished, the people seated themselves. The minister preached from the text "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy!" After services were over, Colonel McClellan introduced the visitors to members of the congregation.... Jackson never passed through Sullivan without stopping several places to greet his friends, sometimes a day or two.¹⁹

The younger Daniel served several important churches. Like Frederick Ross, he combined a love of emotion with a love of theology. He organized the first Sabbath schools at Blountville and Kingsport about the year 1836. These were among the earliest in the Valley.²⁰ Unlike other evangelists of the period, Daniel controlled his emotions under the brush arbor and never allowed his congregation to forget his purpose.²¹ In this ability he was unlike his contemporary, Parson W. G. Brownlow, who in the pulpit became so excited that he criticized a local citizen, who in turn caned him, causing the parson to draw a pistol.²² Despite a handicap of

¹⁹Taylor, op. cit., 145.

²⁰Ibid., 185.

²¹Rogan, "Biography."

²²Taylor, op. cit., 189-190.

partial paralysis, Daniel married twice, his second wife being Ann Gamble, whose brother was governor of Missouri. Daniel had a family of eight children.²³

The brother Griffith remained in the mercantile business in Kingsport. For a while he took as a partner his brother Lilburn, who, after his return from Alabama, had married Margaret Cloud, a daughter of Sarah Rogan's sister, Nancy. Lilburn suffered business reverses from his family's partnership with Fred Ross.²⁴ After the war Lilburn, unable to overcome losses incurred during that time, saw his business fail. He temporarily moved to Texas where he again joined Griffith.²⁵ Meanwhile, Perry, who married Caroline Powell, became an official of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad. Littleton's wife, Susan Patton, was of the family of Colonel James Patton who, having engaged in the transportation of Europeans to American ports, was slain in the Indian massacre at Draper's Meadows. Littleton and his family remained in East Tennessee.²⁶

The oldest of Daniel Rogan's daughters, Catherine, married Richard Netherland, Sarah Rogan's twin brother, who upon the death of his father inherited the old inn. Richard lived in Kingsport with Catherine until poor judgment in his investments caused him to lose the historic

²³Rogan, "My Life," 6; Mrs. Catherine Susannah Thomas Markell, Diary, 1856-1871, I, July 26, 1869, in the possession of the author.

²⁴Daniel Rogan to F. A. Ross, date torn. It was Lilburn's stock over which the Ross-Rogan controversy first began to develop.

²⁵Rogan, "My Life," 9; Rogan, "Family Record," 22-24.

²⁶Rogan, "My Life," 9.

property. Soon afterwards the Netherlands moved to Missouri where most of their nine children continued to live after the death of Catherine in 1841 and Richard in 1842.²⁷

The younger girls, Maria and Rebecca, married brothers belonging to the extensive Thomas family of western Maryland. Maria, at fifteen, married Stephen Thomas, who remained in Kingsport for a number of years, probably engaging in business with Griffith or James. At any rate, their first son, Cyrus, born in 1825, worked in his uncle's store when he was a boy, and under the guidance of his uncles learned to love nature. When he became a man, he served as both ornithologist and entomologist with government agencies, laying the groundwork for much of the activity of later departments concerned with these areas of interest. When his mother and father moved to Texas with Griffith and his family in 1857 or 1858, Cyrus was teaching in Illinois. Stephen died in 1864. After her death in 1879, Maria was buried in Green Creek cemetery, Erath County, Texas. This family retained close ties with James during the lifetime of the parents. Maria named children for both James and Sarah, and James in turn named one of his daughters for two of hers, Margaret and Cornelia.²⁸

Rebecca, the youngest of the Rogan daughters, in 1827 married George Thomas, who had come down to Kingsport on horseback to visit his brother. At the time she was almost sixteen. After the ceremony the

²⁷Idem. Although this sister's family was doubly related to his children, forty years after the death of Catherine, James reluctantly wrote that he knew little of the Netherlands family. In a very thorough study of the Rogan relatives James Wood Rogan gives less space to this family than to that of many others belonging to the third generation. Rogan, "Family Record," 15-16.

²⁸Rogan, "My Life," 8; Thomas, op. cit., 403-404.

young couple returned to the groom's home, also on horseback. As George had evidently married without informing his family of his intention, the bride and groom probably overcome by fright spent their first night in the barn trying to gather courage to face his parents.²⁹ Rebecca bore two children, Henry Daniel and Catherine Susannah, before she died in 1829.

As the Rogan family increased in size, the number of dynamic personalities involved in their lives also multiplied, and perhaps no one of these commanded a more extensive or more devoted following than did Frederick Ross. Even today his name stands high in the ranks of prominent ministers in American history. Educated in Moravian College at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, he grew up to be an independent thinker whose creed, while militantly held, was almost as much Ross' as Calvin's. His biography, compiled after his death, though meant as a tribute, is a self-portrait which subtly detracts from the intended image. When Frederick Ross succeeded to his Holston River property after the loss of the bulk of his inheritance, he had a maximum amount of self-confidence.³⁰ By wile or force he proposed to make his will felt.

Ross' first move in Tennessee was to seek friends of former days who had known of his vanished prosperity. His second was to put a dam across a part of the river that flowed through his property and build a mill, even though he had been specifically denied permission by the Legislature and warned of the consequences of defiance. But through sheer bravado he won the contest.³¹ In the short biography he magnified

²⁹George L. Thomas of Adamstown, Maryland, to Austin Thomas, January 30, 1961, in the possession of the author.

³⁰Ross, op. cit., 2.

³¹Idem.

his flouting of the law. Devoted to the worldly ideal of the English baronial estates, he built on a prominence overlooking the Holston a great mansion, Rotherwood, which allowed him to survey his own broad acres and the narrower ones of his neighbors. When he decided to organize the Rotherwood Cotton Factory, he allowed his friends such as the Rogans and the Netherlands to invest their fortunes in it while he very graciously accepted their mortgages as well as their money.³²

Having never received a salary for his services as minister of the Kingsport Church, Ross envisioned further benefits to his people by taking his friends with resources into his proposed silk and cotton industries and to the farmers by encouraging the planting of the white mulberry tree. He himself bought the silkworm cocoons and exulted when a sudden rise in the cocoon market brought him a profit of thirty thousand dollars at his neighbors' expense. He had only recently come into the possession of the money he invested in morus multicaules from the contested estate of a niece.³³

The Rogans, having invested heavily in the silk industry at its inception, along with the Netherlands and other relatives, poured more of their funds into the cotton mill. The Rogan store by original agreement was to be the outlet for Ross' products. Successful distributors of the output of the King and White industries, the Rogans felt confident

³²Daniel Rogan to F. A. Ross, n.p., n.d., Rogan Papers; conversation with Mrs. Nettie Cloud, August 30, 1960. Mrs. Cloud learned the history of the Inn in which she makes her home at the time of the purchase. Her husband, as a descendant of Nancy Netherland, already had access to much of the information from his family.

³³Ross, op. cit., 21.

they could dispose of Ross' goods. Instead, Ross only partially fulfilled his contract with them. Then when the cotton factory floundered, he called upon the Rogans to surrender some of their stock in order that he might sell it again and entice new money into the company. In addition, he proposed that he be made an equal partner in the Rogans' firm in order to implement more fully his agreement with them.³⁴ "In a friendly spirit" and within the framework of their contract, the Rogans rejected his offer.

But as time passed, the futility of the whole glamorous scheme became apparent. The venture collapsed. Long before, Richard Netherland, unable to meet increased financial demands, relinquished the mortgaged inn. It was then that he moved to Missouri. Not long afterwards the ruined Rogans at last liquidated their father's business. Catherine in her old age had few resources.³⁵ Remembering his past, Ross wrote: "From the first turn of the water wheel till the last we never made a dollar.... It was a business of which neither I nor my family knew nothing." A few garments for himself made of his silk seem to have been the sole output of the silk industry, and he took great pride in them.³⁶

With the loss of his income it became necessary for Ross to seek a church willing to pay him a salary, which the church in Kingsport just at that point felt little inclination to undertake. His silver bell still rang sweetly from the steeple of the church he had built, but the people were poor or angry. More humiliating to his proud spirit was the

³⁴Daniel Rogan to F. A. Ross, date torn, Rogan Papers.

³⁵Conversation with Mrs. Nettie Cloud, August 30, 1955; Rogan, "Biography."

³⁶Ross, op. cit., 20.

fact that he was forced to stand trial in both church and civil courts. He exulted when he was exonerated, stating: "No blame attached to me or to my partners who were my friends and ruling elders in my church." Those who denounced him he dismissed as persons of low estate.³⁷

Though opinion varied, some of the Rogans and Netherlands were as bitter in their feelings about Ross as he was about them.³⁸ About the same time Ross lost a son. James Rogan, torn between loyalty to his brothers and his love of his friend, wrote a letter of sympathy. He had just lost his own wife, and he spoke of the former close ties, abiding on his part, as one of the assets of his life. He had no answer.³⁹

Ross moved to Chattanooga and then to Huntsville where he remained for many years, turning out papers and books. His greatest fame, however, came from his East Tennessee youth and young manhood. The Calvinistic Magazine, which was published in Rogersville during the first series, 1827-1830, and the new series issued from Abingdon, 1846-1850, brought him into conflict with the Methodist Church, and on complicated theological points he took issue with John Wesley's followers at home and abroad.⁴⁰

Gradually, although the Rogans and Netherlands came to an adjustment in their attitude toward Ross to such an extent that one of them

³⁷Ibid., 21.

³⁸James Rogan to N. F. Shotwell, November, 1875, Rogan Papers.

³⁹James Rogan to F. A. Ross, August, 1854, Rogan Papers.

⁴⁰Frederick A. Ross, "Direct Witness of the Spirit," Calvanistic Magazine, II (1846), 146. Ross also published a book by the same title.

named a daughter Rowena⁴¹ for the pride of all Ross' prides, his daughter who committed suicide, Ross apparently never forgave some of them. Unlike his father, Daniel, who could put the past behind him, James continued to hope for better relationships.

⁴¹Rowena Netherland Heiskell, daughter of Judge Carrick Heiskell, of Memphis. This same family had a son named John Netherland who became rather famous as the editor of the Little Rock Arkansas Gazette.

CHAPTER V

FLATBOATING ON TENNESSEE WATERS

A stream, one of nature's masterpieces, like all good compositions, has a beginning, a middle, and an end, and is, itself by its very character, a kind of progress. Wherever a river goes, it finds some man willing to follow it. So it was with the Rogans when they put behind them the eastward flowing James and thrilled to the sight of the Holston and the waters flowing west.¹

In the early years of exploration and settlement in East Tennessee, rafts and canoes had served to move people across the rugged streams, but with the coming of settlers and increased commerce, better vessels grew out of the need of the moment. The flatboat incorporated three features which in themselves illuminate the times. It was capable of carrying a large cargo; it was able to navigate in the swift and rocky waters that required a shallow draft; and, because of its structure, it could go only one way -- downstream into the wilderness. There it sheltered the pioneer or formed a barricade against an enemy.

Flatboatmen and adventurers as they looked up from the shoals of the streams saw the crags of the mountains above them. Sometimes when the smoke hung about them, the crevasses looked sable, again a deep green. Where the Holston ran out of the Blue Ridge Mountains into the Smokies, the slopes became steeper and the hardwood gave way sooner to the evergreen.²

¹Rogan, "Biography."

²Rogan, "My Life," 62.

As the valleys broadened along the great rivers, fertile fields stretched away to meet the caves and slopes, pockets of lush growth that were man's challenge to exuberant nature. During the first decades of the nineteenth century, cotton here averaged eight hundred pounds to the acre; corn, sixty to one hundred bushels -- totals that have not been generally surpassed since.³ The undergrowth was cane, twenty feet high and so thick it kept out other plants, particularly in the lowlands.⁴ In more favorable positions were shrubs and bushes -- ginseng, angelica, spicewood, plum, ginger, a tangle of hops and grapevines.⁵ By contrast, on the heights, the cedars were often four feet in diameter and clear of limbs as high as forty feet.⁶

But of paramount importance was the river, particularly the Holston at the turn of the century, for it reached its forked fingers up into Virginia to entice a horde of immigrants and the craft that carried them and their necessities. In those days it was at the village of Knoxville that the Holston, three hundred yards wide at that point, joined its waters to the French Broad to become the Tennessee, though it was navigable for boats of twenty-five tons or more upward of a hundred miles, being one hundred and fifty yards wide as far as sixteen miles above the North Fork and five above Long Island.⁷

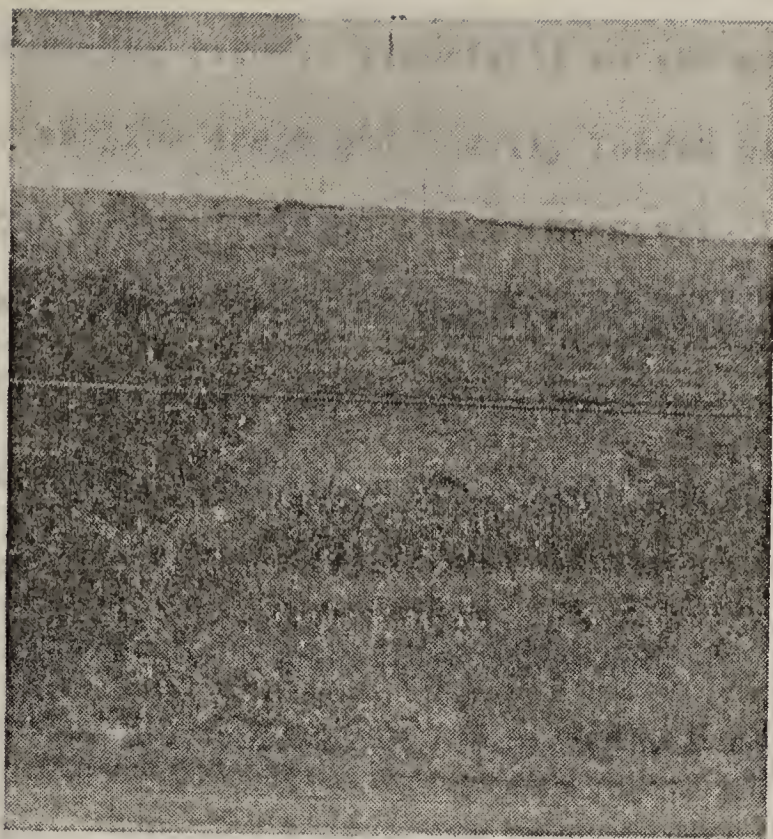
³Morse, op. cit.

⁴Putnam, op. cit., 75.

⁵Rogan, Diary, 1878-1879, July 6, 1878.

⁶Morse, op. cit.

⁷Idem.



Long Island

Rogan's contemporary, John James Audubon, left a good picture of travel on the interior rivers, especially of the difficulties on these boats, made for shallow draft and heavily loaded with cargoes and people floating down the river.⁸ Despite all the difficulties the river traffic increased. There was at first no regular schedule. When a boat was needed, a boat was built. Both shipper and consignee waited for the river to "get right."⁹ It was these conditions which made the flatboat the master of frontier streams.

Starting out as a pole hand on a keelboat when he was just a boy, Rogan was never far from the river. Part of his employment included the boating of freight when the season was appropriate. At first he operated only on the Holston, to points as far as Knoxville. For this distance boating trips could be undertaken only a limited number of times when the water raised the heavy load above the shoals. In 1816 when he returned to the employ of the Hales he made four trips as far as Knoxville, and later when his father bought that firm, he undertook the freighting portion of the business for a share of the profits.¹⁰

Much of the history of flatboating, an occupation brimming with excitement to the navigators, is lost in a kind of legend. Like other phases of human activity which everyone knew but yesterday, flatboating made a routine passage that ended in Never Never Land, and no one noticed

⁸Donald C. Peattie, ed., Audubon's America: The Narratives and Experiences of John James Audubon (Boston, 1940), 44-45.

⁹Edward C. Betts, Early History of Huntsville, Alabama, 1804-1870 (Montgomery, 1916), 61.

¹⁰Rogan, "My Life," 24.

its departure. Regarding the scarcity of records about flatboats and flatboatmen, Donald Davidson in his nostalgic paeon to the Old River writes beautifully and wistfully as he wishes that some of the Sindbads who made their living on the river had left a fragment of a memoir.¹¹

One such Sindbad, James Rogan, in his eighty-third year decided to record for the sake of his children a few memorial items from his past. The year was 1879, just a century after the Shelby and Donelson parties set out to clear the river of Indians and to colonize the remote wilderness of Middle Tennessee, and three quarters of a century after his own first experience with the river that flowed before his door.

There is an experience in the Early History of Boating down the Rugged mountain streams of East Tennessee that but few knew anything about. I will therefore add a few items in my experience -- beginning with the construction of these crafts of burden. In the first place the woods are searched for the largest and tallest of poplar trees, which is felled and hewed to a proper thickness, then this heavy piece of timber is raised upon a sawpit and then it is split in two with the whipsaw, left as wide as possible, this is called the gunnel, generally two or three feet wide. These are framed together with cross ties and streamers on the bank of the river -- the bottom of two inch plank is then pinned down securely with inch oak pins, the seams caulked with hemp. In width these boats are from fifteen to eighteen feet and in length fifty to eighty feet. Framed and planked bottom upward, then turned over with lever power requiring from four to six men to perform the work, the boat is launched into the stream, and if for an open boat, that is, without a roof or covering, short studding is fixed in the gunnels. All around strong wide plank is pinned to this studding and the seam is then caulked -- rigged with steering and the side oars. Then when the river is full, these boats are laden down to within a few inches of the gunnel.¹²

¹¹Davidson. op. cit., I, 212.

¹²Rogan, "My Life," 55-56.

What was the river like in those days? What of its swift tributaries? With the classic description of the Great Bend, the Narrows, the Suck, the Skillet, many are familiar, but the reality of the ancient perils made them different to one who fought them, suffered from them, and outlived them. In describing these passages and their perils, Rogan wrote:

The tide must be of sufficient height to cross the various falls or shoals with safety. These shoals are very obstructive to navigation. The most skillful often met with disasters, several of which I have experienced. At one time in passing over one of these shoals with a large covered boat laden with salt, it was so badly damaged or wrecked that it soon went to the bottom, then capsized, all being a total loss. At another time in the same falls a plank was torn loose from the bottom of a boat laden with salt. This too was a total loss....¹³ Sometimes in passing over these rugged shoals the boat is lodged on the rocks causing much labor and loss. These disasters together with cold and wet were not, as you may suppose, very comfortable or pleasant to either body or mind. Yet with all these there was something connected with it of a fascinating or exciting character.

The passage of the Tennessee River through the Cumberland Mountains, known as the Suck, at an early day was a great terror to the boatman -- not for long, however, before it was made apparent that with skill and careful management there was not that danger at first apprehended. The mountains closing up so closely making the stream very narrow -- this with a long steep slope or incline plain the waters are forced down with great velocity to a level below, there to rise up in great turbid billows, this with the swiftness of the current at certain stages of the water produces a howling sound.¹⁴ Some two or three miles below this, there is another historic, noted place, called

¹³Ibid., 57.

¹⁴Ibid., 58.

There are two other things to be noted about the first of these
things. The first is that the first of these things is the first of these things.
The second is that the second of these things is the second of these things.
The third is that the third of these things is the third of these things.
The fourth is that the fourth of these things is the fourth of these things.
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The thirty-ninth of these things is the thirty-ninth of these things.
The fortieth of these things is the fortieth of these things.

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the Boiling Pot, this is caused by large Boulders standing out in the stream not very far from the shore, creating below a boiling turbid counter current of considerable length and breadth, of great swiftness catching everything that comes within reach of its grasp, filling it up with driftwood and when it is full to overflow, both water and rubbish discharge out at the other end. At an early day the unwary boatman, it is said, were drawn in occasionally into this whirl pool and the way to escape it was to make the round with the current, and by increasing the velocity of the boat with side oars, escape was effected at the upper end, not always, however, with the first effort.¹⁵

Apart from the migrations and relatively large movements of man by flatboat, there developed a regular commerce on the tributaries and along the main stream. No longer was it necessary to build one's own boat. At the busy Boatyard could be found many a boatman besides the Rogans who furnished the craft, no matter what the cargo or whence its destination. Audubon, who made his first trip on a flatboat with a certain Captain Cummins in the year 1821, gave a good description of such a trip as James Rogan must have made many times and considered too familiar and prosaic to record. The flatboat, guided by long oars called sweeps, was crowded with people of various ages, domestic animals, farm equipment, household articles, personal belongings, huddled and crowded together, with crew and passengers contemplating the mysterious horizons.¹⁶

For his year's employment in 1816, which included making trips as far down the river as Huntsville, Alabama Territory, a distance of 600 river miles, Rogan received a salary of three hundred dollars. This amount included also his labor in the Hale firm for the remainder of the year.¹⁷

¹⁵Ibid., 60.

¹⁶Peattie, op. cit., 44-45.

¹⁷Rogan, "My Life," 25.

As meager as these wages for such strenuous and dangerous an occupation seem today, there were those who considered freightage prices exorbitant. While in Kentucky, the Reverend Harry Toulmin, who would later have a role in codifying the laws of the new states created from the Old Southwest, conceived a plan whereby the cost of moving freight and passengers would be lessened, thus speeding up the settlement of the West and, eventually, bringing an increase in commerce.¹⁸

River traffic improved so much that ports were created all along the rivers to facilitate the shipment of products consigned to foreign markets. It must have been surprising to the National Treasury that the first returns in 1798 came from the obscure port of Palmyra, far inland in Tennessee.¹⁹

When trade between New Orleans and the Tennessee valley reached such proportions as to justify the compact, land speculators, merchants, and early entrepreneurs began to take into business with them those who could facilitate the westward movement of men and merchandise. Perhaps it was an alternative to Toulmin's plan, one with greater chance of success, for adventure was apparently often a factor in the choosing of a river life.²⁰

Beginning in February of 1822, James and Amos Rogan, with a flotilla laden with salt and other products, started from Kingsport and

¹⁸Harry Toulmin, The Western Country in 1793: Reports on Kentucky and Virginia (San Marino, 1948), 119-127.

¹⁹Archer B. Hulbert, The Paths of Inland Commerce (New Haven, 1920), 73-74.

²⁰Rogan, "My Life," 20.

descended the Holston-Tennessee, stopping to dispose of cargo from point to point until they reached Muscle Shoals. At that place James was offered a "partnership in the business of shipping cotton to New Orleans." Some of the boats already having been loaded, he accepted the proposition.²¹ Instead of returning home, James "entered at once upon duty in this new field of adventure." In April the men collected boats and cotton, and prepared to depart for New Orleans.²²

Muscle Shoals presented unique obstacles to boatmen. At one particularly difficult obstruction, a portage was very often necessary in order to lighten the boats and get them over the shoals. Efforts had been made, without success, to open a canal around this point.²³ Only the most daring tried to take the heavy cargoes across the shoals,²⁴ and old boatmen and local characters of the vicinity were wont to stand and wait for the inevitable to occur when the foolhardy and the ignorant disregarded their advice. A few pilots of the vicinity, at the best stage of the flood, hired themselves out to take the less skillful across, not always, however, with happy results. Rogan, brought up on the Holston's waters, decided to make his own way across the rapids. His description of the trip was laconic, as he recorded,

Having to pass over Mussle Shoals one of the
boats met with disaster, thus causing damage

²¹Ibid., 20.

²²Ibid., 21.

²³Davidson, op. cit., I, 286-289.

²⁴Rogan, "My Life," 22; Betts, op. cit., 61-62.

to the cargo to the amount of one thousand dollars if my memory is correct, a severe loss to the company. The trip to New Orleans was a long and tedious one though upon the whole rather romantic presenting everyday something novel and interesting. Arrived at the city safe, except the disaster at the outset.²⁵

Once the boatman had endured the tedium of the Mississippi and had arrived at the terminal port, he still had before him the difficulties of the return home. To get back to East Tennessee, he first had to get across the expanse of Lake Pontchartrain. Then he might take one of two trails, the first leading across south and central Mississippi -- Jackson's war trail -- into Alabama. The more widely traveled, however, was that which led to Natchez. Beyond that point a hundred or more miles, he might take the path that led through Cotton Gin Port to Alabama on Gaines Trace, or he might follow the Natchez Trace into southern Tennessee.

Indians, infamous robber gangs, mysterious deaths, sudden insanity, and a host of other difficulties presented themselves to the returning flatboatmen. It has been said that those walking back to Tennessee bought pack horses to carry their belongings, not to ride. The way was often rough. One frequent traveler called the swamps along the way "hell holes."²⁶

Rogan's trip home, however, gives a brief view of this intrepid race of men.

²⁵Rogan, "My Life," 21.

²⁶Davidson, op. cit., I, 218-226.

Continued there New Orleans perhaps a week or more unloading cargoes. Purchased a horse to carry me home paying for him one hundred dollars. Then after crossing Lake Ponchartrain in a Schooner letting the horses down into the Hold, with block and tackle, arriving safe on the opposite shore set out for home in company with several others, all for East Tennessee.²⁷

Having to pass through the Choctaw Nation it was then considered a little unsafe as there had been a murder committed on the road not many days before. We were not molested however but on the contrary treated verry kindly, having to tarry two or three nights with the Indians, one of these nights at the house of a Chief.²⁸ He was not at home. We were kindly treated in every respect by his house servant except refusing permission to sleep in the best department where were good beds. We were furnished with Deer or Bear Skins on our own saddle blankets,²⁹ in a large room where there were several Indians. All had to lie on the floor together. Being fatigued, the most of us rested verry well, even in this condition. Thus, pursued our journey from day to day until reaching home some time in the month of June, being absent from home some five months.³⁰

But river traffic was not all disaster, tedium, hard labor. James Rogan's account tends to verify the conception of the boatmen as being a jolly crew.

A boating or river life in those days were in some respects similar to a soldier's, the boys fond of amusement often playing little harmless tricks on each other. When in smooth waters

²⁷Rogan, "My Life," 21.

²⁸Probably the father-in-law of Greenwood Leflore or one of the Colberts of Colbert's Ferry.

²⁹Rogan, "My Life," 22.

³⁰Ibid., 23.

sometimes three or four boats would tie together, making quite a jolly crowd. On one of these occasions a proposition was made that a general shave and cleaning up take place, all having been without shaving a week or more. Long beards were not in vogue then, only among the Dunkers.³¹ There was a difficulty in the way, however, there being but one razor, in the crowd that belonged to myself, and to take a regular shave around the razor would become so dull that those coming last would not be fairly dealt by and, that this might be made more equal, it was proposed that each take a half shave all around beginning with myself. So all went around and then my turn first to finish then to go through until all be finished, but unfortunately when I had finished, by an unlucky sling, the razor went overboard into the river. Thus the shaving was all over, leaving a funny looking set of half shaved fellows. This was a preconceived plan known to one or two others and myself. All passed off with jolly merriment.³²

James relates a story now considered apocryphal which he calls "probably true." It dealt with a flatboat under the command of a stranger in Tennessee waters which kept passing cabins where dancing, fiddling, and merrymaking occurred throughout the night in almost identical fashion, only to have the crew discover at night's end that the vessel had been caught in the river's giant whirlpool and that the whole countryside was not, of necessity, an excessively merry land.³³ Rogan observed that

In passing down the river once near this point, I, together with the crews of some two or three boats, out on the shore in front of a cabin, witnessed a fisty-cuff fight between two of the

³¹Ibid., 62.

³²Ibid., 63. "The other," probably Amos.

³³Ibid., 60-61.

feminine sex, to the great amusement of the boys.³⁴

Sometimes the humorous inclinations of boatmen grew more boisterous, especially when the humor became involved with that intangible of society, the law. In the territories, though the crews knew how to wed humor to justice, they sometimes saw these marriages produce ill-begotten issue. Rogan wrote:

In the early days of Huntsville, Alabama, that place and the surrounding country was the most inviting point for the sale of country produce. Ditto's Landing or as it was afterwards called White's Burg, ten miles south of Huntsville, the nearest point of trade at this place in the winter and spring, at the rising of the waters a large collection of boats from the upcountry were collected there, consequently bringing together a large number of people of various characters, some of low grade but others of better character, but ever ready for something mischievous.³⁵

One beautiful night with the moon shining in all its brightness, I was aroused from my slumbers by someone informing me that some persons were in the warehouse pilfering from me and others. A crowd had collected and the two culprits, foreigners, were in custody. They had done myself little or no injury. Their object seemed to be a little salt which did not belong to me. Of this they had about twelve or fifteen pounds. They were about half drunk, were fastened together with a cord around the neck, about two feet apart, the sack hanging to the cord in the middle between them. In this condition they were marched along the bank of the river back and forth, the crowd following up with the rattling of bells, beating of tin pans, blowing of horns, and other instruments of discordant

³⁴Ibid., 62.

³⁵Ibid., 64.

sound. After this they were marched to the Hall of Justice. There a mock trial was had, the captives found guilty and sentenced to be hung, a rope fastened around the neck. Standing on a chair the rope fastened to the joist, this was as far as they intended to go,³⁶ but someone more intent to carry out the sentence was in the act of pulling the chair suddenly from under them but was prevented in time to save them. I was an eye witness but had no part in it, only to plead for the release of the unfortunate creatures. After this they were taken to the ferry boat, there a rope was fastened about their bodies then they were keel-hauled by plunging them under the boat from one side to the other -- repeating the operation two or three times until they were nearly drowned....³⁷ The prisoners were then released, sobered by this time, cured no doubt for a time of their stealing propensities.³⁸

From such events James Rogan, limping a little still and suffering acutely at times because of his afflicted limb, grew up to know the rivers and the hills from Botetourt to New Orleans, from Kentucky to Virginia and North Carolina, got to know the people who composed frontier humanity, and for the remainder of his life never escaped what was to him its enchantment.

After a few decades, the river commerce became routine. The flatboats continued to carry their somewhat orderly loads in local traffic and to the once-foreign ports of a newer West. The river in the Chattanooga area, falling rapidly for forty miles with all its rapids and reefs and islands, and Muscle Shoals, where the river dropped steeply again in

³⁶Ibid., 65.

³⁷Ibid., 66.

³⁸Ibid., 67.

a short distance, still gave the boatman a struggle.³⁹ But the struggle was now more equal. Dragging Canoe became only a legend. "Chickamauga" was to mean a battlefield. General Jackson, the Westerner who followed the Cherokees in going over the hills, had his way with them at last. On April 10, 1832, about four hundred Cherokee Indians bound for the promised land left in nine flatboats from Calhoun, Tennessee, on the Hiwassee River. The boats passed through Muscle Shoals and arrived at Waterloo on April 17, from whence the Indians departed.⁴⁰ James Rogan could have known them. At another time during the same year one hundred and seventy Cherokees on their own resources went in flatboats or "arks" to the mouth of the White River in Arkansas. In 1834 others followed.⁴¹

The mass migration and movements had once more begun to new adventures and to wars in a new West. One company of troops from Sullivan County moved by flatboat on its way to Mexico.⁴² The Knoxville Whig of March 30, 1850, advised people in a hurry to get to California in the Gold Rush to "take the river."⁴³ Some of the Rogan in-laws departed.

When the day of the flatboat was almost over, James Rogan sat

³⁹Idem.

⁴⁰Grant Foreman, Indian Removal, The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians (Norman, 1932), 242-243.

⁴¹Idem.

⁴²Tennessee Valley Authority, A History of Navigation on the Tennessee River System (Washington, 1937), 64-65.

⁴³Idem.

down by lamplight in his Mississippi farmhouse to write a touching epitaph to the passing of a mode of frontier travel:

From the foregoing picture you can form some idea of the ups and downs of a boatman's life in the early history of the West. Yet with all the increased advantages, the risks and dangers of both life and property have not been diminished, but on the contrary greatly increased. In all the dangers through which I may have passed, and they were many during the period herein enumerated, there was none apparently to imminent as one in the burning of a Steam Boat on which I was a passenger...⁴⁴

⁴⁴Rogan, "My Life," 68.

CHAPTER VI

ALABAMA DAYS

In the general expansion of population, the Great Bend of the Tennessee received its initial impulse when, in 1785, a Welshman and Tory named John Gunter came into the territory and settled down. Gunter lived on the north bank of the river where he owned a salt claim,¹ the first white man in the Great Bend.

No matter what treacheries lay before and beyond, the Tennessee at this point was, and is, a thing of beauty. Then the valley ran down and lost itself in the water's edge, and trees and cane and water plants dipped their branches into its deceptive ripples. The low mountains rimmed its southern edge. There Gunter established his landing, at which river boats carried on a lively trade.

When the government parceled out lands for war service, a few other whites straggled in. In 1805 "Old Man Ditto" was operating his landing. Just before statehood, in 1818, seven million dollars' worth of land in the Great Bend was sold to immigrants and speculators. There was a stampede.² By 1815, the price had already jumped from one dollar to sixty dollars an acre. By 1818 an acre of bottom land brought a hundred dollars, and eight lots in Florence sold for twenty-one thousand dollars.³

¹Louis W. Wyeth, "History of Marshall County, Alabama," manuscript in private possession, published in part in the Guntersville (Ala.) Democrat, March 15, 1883-May 2, 1883.

²Davidson, op. cit., I, 230-231; Betts, op. cit., 6.

³Davidson, op. cit., I, 234.

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John Gunter's wife was a daughter of Chief Bushy-head of the Paint clan called Ghl-go-ne-li, Cherokee for salt.⁴ Gunter renamed her Catherine. She bore him three children, David, Dick, and Catherine. Later when David Guess (Sequoyah) caused an alphabet to be written, Dick Gunter worked on the project.⁵

About 1790 Gunter began the building of his town, a crude but highly prosperous settlement opposite his landing. After the War of 1812 he moved south of the river. In 1820 a school was started at a Presbyterian mission on the old Creek path, now about one and a half miles from Guntersville.⁶

Rogan, seeing the increasing business opportunities which developed consistently along the Great Bend, was favorably impressed when in 1825 Colonel James White of Abingdon had, as previously noted, offered him a partnership in a mercantile establishment at Gunter's Landing. That winter James departed on a trip to investigate the prospects, remaining away from home all that season. Being satisfied, he accepted the offer.⁷ Of his own migration by water to a new home, James Rogan recorded few details. He wrote:

In the spring of 1826 my family was moved
down the Holston and Tennessee Rivers in a

⁴Wyeth, "History of Marshall County," loc. cit., March 15, 1883.

⁵Idem. Gunter was the ancestor of the humorist, Will Rogers, and letters pertaining to the relationship are in the possession of Mrs. Katherine M. Duncan, Guntersville.

⁶Idem.

⁷Rogan, "My Life," 25.

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comfortable flatboat built for the express purpose, having different apartments, with a good chimney, my family being under the care and protection of my wife's brother, Colonel John Netherland...at that time sixteen or seventeen years of age. At this date we had only two children.⁸

Having confidence in the boats and his adolescent brother-in-law, Rogan entrusted Sarah and the two babies to their discretion and protection. When a roof of any kind was considered a luxury on boats, different apartments put this flatboat in a very special category, for this feature provided for more privacy than did many frontier homes. The chimney contributed to its elegant and exclusive nature.

In his mercantile business, for which he was able to bring in many of his own supplies, James prospered. Besides the boating and the selling of supplies to increasing numbers of settlers, he was able to call upon his previous experience to carry on a lucrative trade with the Indians.⁹ His interest in them allowed him to be useful to the state in its negotiations with them.¹⁰

Apart from his economic successes at Gunter's Landing, Rogan enjoyed the opportunity to pursue his interest in religious matters. In the absence of a Presbyterian Church in the village, Rogan, his wife, Amos, and the children attached themselves to the missionary church at Creek Path Station some six miles distant. At this point he met many of the young ministers who would one day be the outstanding men in their de-

⁸Ibid., 26.

⁹Ibid., 30.

¹⁰Ibid., 66; Owen, op. cit., IV, 1456.

nominations.¹¹ A Methodist mission also was established in the village, giving greater choice to those interested in frontier religion.¹²

Soon after the arrival of the Rogans at this place, Catherine Crawford was born on March 2, 1828. However, in the expanding family there were constant petty illnesses to plague the children. Because business was prospering Rogan remained at Gunter's Landing until he himself was "stricken down by bilious fever accompanied by congestion, which brought /him/ near unto death."¹³ After weeks of illness and months of absence from his business, he was "rescued from the jaws of the Grim Monster Death...having /had/ the close, kind, vigilant, and untiring attention of /his/ beloved companion... and kind friends, as well as the interposition of Divine Providence."¹⁴

At the end of about four years, during which the business grew and the illnesses multiplied, Rogan and White decided to open another store at Ashville, St. Clair County, with Rogan moving to the higher ground where the rugged slopes were considered more conducive to health. The Coosa River with its wide tributaries was navigable. The bottoms along the banks were deep and fertile.¹⁵ Though some Cherokees occupied a portion of the county, St. Clair lay mainly in the Creek domain.¹⁶

¹¹Rogan, "My Life," 27.

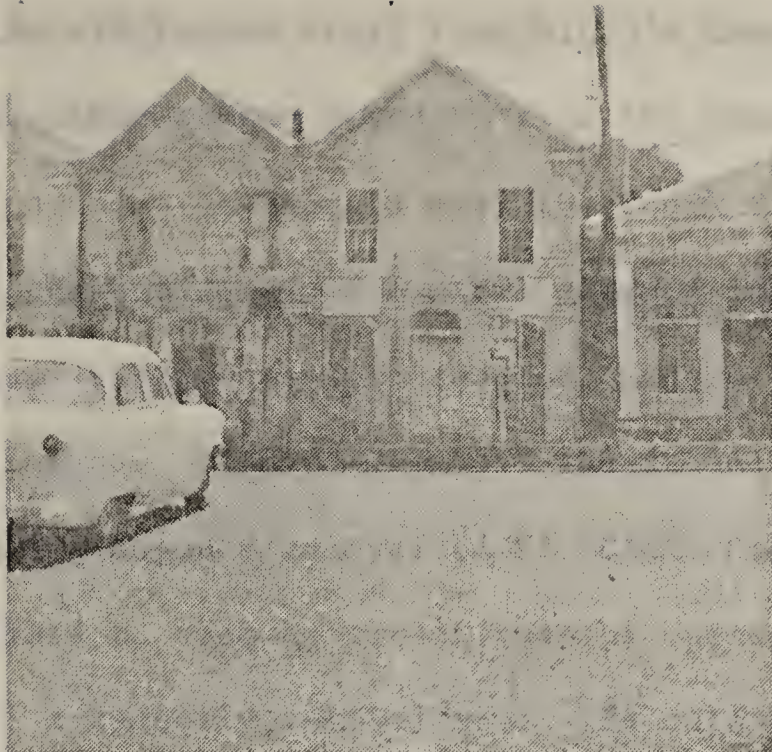
¹²Oliver D. Street, "The Indians of Marshall County, Alabama," Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society, 1899-1903, IV (Montgomery, 1904), 208.

¹³Rogan, "My Life," 28.

¹⁴Idem.

¹⁵Owen, op. cit., II, 1220.

¹⁶Idem.



Scenes of Ashville, Alabama



The population was made up generally from two streams of migration. Tennesseans came in by way of the river, Gunter's Landing, and Deposit or took the old Indian trail from Ditto's Landing to Mud Town on the Cahaba. The other stream moved in from the Camden and York districts of South Carolina and from Georgia over the Creek Path.¹⁷ When Rogan arrived most of the buildings were still made of logs. A few imposing residences were in the process of erection, most of them belonging to the South Carolinians. Richard Crow did the actual construction.¹⁸

Following Rogan's removal to St. Clair County in 1830, the new business flourished to such an extent that he opened a trading station in Cherokee County, a recently settled area. He outfitted one of the young clerks in his firm, possibly Lilburn, with merchandise valued at six thousand dollars and began a steady trade with both the Cherokees and the white inhabitants.¹⁹

Rogan's initial purchase of land in Ashville, lot forty-one, came on February 23, 1830, when he bought from James L. Lewis one third of an acre in the center of the town with "buildings and appurtenances."²⁰ This building probably became Rogan's store. A short while later he bought lot thirty-seven. This probably was the site of his home.²¹ In addition

¹⁷Ibid., 1221.

¹⁸Mrs. Willis Hodges of Ashville, Alabama, to the author, September 25, 1959. Mrs. Hodges is in the abstract business in Ashville and knows the history of many St. Clair County landholdings.

¹⁹Rogan, "My Life," 31.

²⁰Deed Book A, 1824-1832, St. Clair County, Alabama, 599 (Court-house at Ashville).

²¹Ibid., 623.

to other town property, Rogan purchased farm lands in various parts of the county.

Perhaps one of the most interesting actions during his early life in Ashville was the forming of a corporation with John M. Byers and James L. Lewis which successfully applied to the legislature for a charter to found and operate the Ashville Academy and Mount Pleasant Church. The charter was granted by the legislature on January 15, 1831. These men then erected a building for their purposes. On March 19, 1832, Philip Coleman deeded the land to the trustees.²² Thus, with the coming of James Rogan, Ashville got its first school and church.

January, 1831, was an eventful month. James' second son, Lafayette, was born on January 31. Two years later Richard Cornelius was born, July 3, 1833.²³ Rogan's growing family was an incentive to provide the best possible school for the community. Judging by the high quality of the literacy of his own children and the attainments of others who went to school there, the Academy must have offered excellent instruction. Among the pupils were Oran Roberts, later Supreme Court Justice in Texas, president of the Texas Secession Convention, and United States Senator;²⁴ Rufus Willis Cobb, later governor of Alabama;²⁵ and

²²Deed Book B, St. Clair County, Alabama, 23.

²³Rogan, "My Life," 39.

²⁴William Garrett, Reminiscences of Public Men in Alabama for Thirty Years (Atlanta, 1872), 195; Rogan, "Biography;" Mrs. C. F. McGuire, "St. Clair County, Alabama, A Territorial County," 32, in the possession of Mrs. Willis Hodges, Ashville, Alabama.

²⁵Rogan, "My Life," 94.

Philip Coleman Deed for lot for Ashville Academy
REAL ESTATE RECORD B, Page 23

The State of Alabama
St. Clair County This Indenture made and entered into this day of
between Philip Coleman of the one part and James Hagan
John M. Byers and James L. Lewis Trustees of the Ashville Academy of the other part
Witnesseth that the said Philip Coleman for and in consideration that the said
Trustees have according to previous agreement built a meeting & school house on a piece
of land herein after named & designated and for the further consideration of an
dollar to the said Philip Coleman in hand paid by the said Trustees the receipt
whereof is hereby acknowledged hath this day granted & bargained sold and conveyed
and by these presents doth hereby grant bargain sell and convey unto the said James
Hagan John M. Byers and James L. Lewis Trustees as aforesaid and their successors
in office forever all that parcel or piece of land beginning at a certain
beach on the bank of a branch and running in a direct line three chains & 64 links
to a certain white oak X M on John V. Hargreaves line thence running with his said line
in nearly a south direction two chains and 72 links to a red oak X M thence nearly
east three chains & 64 links to a stake thence due north to the beginning four
chains and 85 links containing by estimation one acre and three eighths of an acre
be the same more or less including the ground whereon the said building was
erected known as the Ashville Academy & meeting house together with all the
buildings appertaining thereto built & thereto belonging the same lying
and being in the county of St. Clair aforesaid together with all right that might be
vested in me to the buildings thereon and the same are hereby relinquished by me and
acknowledged to be vested in the said Trustees & their successors. It has and to have the
same together with all and singular the appurtenances right and privileges thereto
belonging unto the said Trustees & their successors forever and to their only proper
use benefit and behoof. And the said Philip Coleman doth hereby covenant to and with
the said Trustees that he is well seized & possessed & hath good right & title to give sell &
convey the same in manner and form aforesaid and doth hereby & will, lawfully warrant
defend the title thereof to the said Trustees & their successors against himself his heirs & assigns
& all persons whatsoever, in testimony whereof the said Philip Coleman hath hereunto set
his hand and affixed his seal this day of

The words granted & granted aforesaid
intentionally written
Signed but not sealed in presence of
Burnell Green
Lewis Bishop

(Signed) Philip Coleman Seal

The State of Alabama } I now all men by these presents that whereas I James Moore holds
St. Clair County } Philip Coleman's bond for title for a certain tract of land which was
under the the three eighths of an acre (being the surplusage the acre) mentioned in the foregoing
deed, Now I the said James Moore for valuable consideration received do hereby acknowledge
the right of the said Philip Coleman to make the said deed aforesaid and release him
from so much of said bond as relates to the title of the said three eighths of an acre
Witness my hand & seal this day of (Signed) James Moore Seal
Bishop

The State of Alabama, Personally came before me Joshua W. Hooper Clerk of the County Court aforesaid
St. Clair County } Philip Coleman who acknowledged that he signed sealed and delivered the foregoing
deed of conveyance for the purposes therein mentioned on the nineteenth day of March A.D. 1832
and as James Moore personally came before me on the same day and acknowledged that he
signed sealed and delivered his release to aforesaid right title interest and claim to
the foregoing deed of conveyance and for the purposes therein contained on the 19th
day of March A.D. 1832

Test Joshua W. Hooper Clerk
J. Hooper

Recorded in office March 24th & Recorded March 24th 1832

Handwritten signature or note at the bottom of the page.

others of lesser stature.²⁶

However, the Academy was not solely a school building. It served also as the meeting house for Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians, having among its trustees one of each denomination. So long as James Rogan lived in Ashville, this was the only church. Just about the time Rogan left Ashville, the Reverend James L. Lewis led the Baptists in the building of a church of their own.²⁷ On October 6, 1846, James and Sarah deeded to Moses Dean, Kenneth Byers, and James J. Bothwell one acre and thirty-two rods for a Presbyterian Church and a school.²⁸ Alameth Byers, close friend and neighbor of James, gave a lot in town as a site for the Methodist Church building.²⁹ But for the Rogans the Academy was the center of their educational and religious life.

In addition to his other activities, Rogan was postmaster at Ashville for the greater part of his life there. In 1834 he was elected Judge of the County Court by the usual process of joint action of the Alabama legislature.³⁰

Being judge in the days of development was no uncomplicated position. It required of the holder of the title that he be reasonably wise and well-informed and that he act in a variety of capacities. Like his territorial predecessors the Judge of the County Court had

²⁶Rogan, "Biography."

²⁷Mrs. Willis Hodges to the author, September 25, 1959.

²⁸Deed Book B, St. Clair County, Alabama.

²⁹Mrs. Willis Hodges to the author, October 17, 1959.

³⁰Rogan, "My Life," 89.

full powers and authority to take the probate of wills, of conveyances, and to record same; to issue letters testamentary and letters of administration; to take cognizance of a civil nature /up to \$1000/ excepting real actions, actions of ejection and of trespass quare clausum fugit.³¹

To these duties were added concurrent jurisdiction with the circuit court in such matters as trespass, assault and battery, debt, assumpsit cases, and covenants.³² When the judge acted in his discretionary civil and social capacity, he sat as Judge of the Orphan's Court.³³

One of the most frequent acts of Rogan's official life was the licensing of ministers to perform marriage ceremonies. Revivals took place. Many "felt the call." Their sects ordained them, and they stayed or went on, performing the most frequent of legal services, the marriage ceremony. With only scattered churches and those few served irregularly by the circuit rider or the "supply," the new preachers without churches could add to their income from marriage fees. But as long as James Rogan lived in Ashville, he performed the great majority of the marriage rites for couples who had obtained their licenses in the county.³⁴ At first James carefully noted the sect to which the newly licensed ministers belonged, and it was possible to tell who had wandered into the town or who had responded at the camp meetings. As the number of ministers increased and Rogan's duties required more time, the recording of the name of the

³¹Memorial Record of Alabama (2 vols., Madison, Wisconsin, 1893), II, 145.

³²Ibid., 146.

³³Stray Docket, St. Clair County, Alabama, passim.

³⁴Marriage Records, 1819-1858, St. Clair County, Alabama, September 10, 1836, passim.

petitioner sufficed.³⁵

Among the first of Rogan's purchases of land outside the town was a tract of "fifty acres lying south...of the Great Road leading from Ashville westward" which he bought for one hundred and three dollars. It was adjacent to the Academy. This acquisition was made on June 6, 1833.³⁶ With a possible future homesite near the school and church, Rogan was ready to begin farming and to undertake again a series of travels.

As an additional source of revenue, Rogan opened a tannery where he could handle the hides for which he traded. It was also during this time that he bought his first slaves to raise the cotton that was his money crop.³⁷

To the hill section of Alabama as to the remainder of the country the fall of 1836 and spring of 1837 brought hard times. The store in Cherokee County which had carried on an extensive trade in deer and bear skins and had fed the tannery, hurt first by the removal of the Indians, failed completely.³⁸ The upsetting of a flatboat and the burning of a steamboat on the Alabama River which carried Rogan's cotton caused a loss of fourteen thousand dollars. During the previous spring James had gone to Philadelphia and New York to buy merchandise and to New Orleans to buy groceries, running up large bills. In the midst of the Panic, his partner, Colonel James White, died, forcing James in the liquidation to assume his part of the debt of businesses in Abingdon, Kingsport, and Gunter's Landing. "What I failed to pay at maturity my creditors were

³⁵Idem.

³⁶Deed Book B, St. Clair County, Alabama, 100.

³⁷Rogan, "My Life," 30.

³⁸Idem.

kind and lenient and after a hard struggle and persevering effort was enabled to square up."³⁹

Rogan had not immediately quit the flatboating business when he went to Alabama, and the carrying in of supplies over the tributaries of the larger rivers proved a challenge equal to the more sensational voyages of his past.⁴⁰ A record remains of a voyage that may well have been one of his own. With wheat grown in Washington County, Virginia, milled and barreled in Sullivan County, Tennessee, shipped down the Holston to the Tennessee and thence to the Hiwassee, a boatman descended that stream for forty miles to the Ocoee, which he traversed for a distance of ten miles. A portage of twenty miles brought the speculator to the Conasauga, at which point he built a new flatboat with which to transport the flour into the Coosa and eventually the Alabama, on which he delivered the produce at Montgomery. At that place, after a toilsome journey of two months, he made a good profit.⁴¹

As Rogan suggested, the flatboats were neither safe nor comfortable, but to him they appeared no more dangerous than the steamboat. When going east, instead of walking as in early youth, he went overland by horseback for the first portion of the way and then by the mail stage.⁴² However, when James went south, especially to Mobile, as he

³⁹Ibid., 31.

⁴⁰Rogan, "Biography."

⁴¹Memorial Record of Alabama, I, 319-320.

⁴²Rogan, "My Life," 30.

frequently did because of business -- and perhaps wanderlust and a love of excitement -- he patronized steamboats.⁴³

One night in 1837 when Rogan was a passenger aboard a steamboat on its way to Mobile, he was awakened by an unusual clamor. The cry of "Fire!" rang out, and the captain's voice shouting to the ladies and urging them to make haste could be heard above the din. By the time James was half-clad and had grasped his boots and saddle wallets in his hand, flames were licking out of all but the aft deck, to which point he betook himself. Seeing a small boat not yet filled, he cast his baggage overboard into the vacant space and sprang into it himself. Others were jumping into the water to swim or hanging onto parts of the rudder until they could be picked up. No lives were lost, but boat, cargo, and most of the baggage were consumed.⁴⁴ A rich planter and his overseer who resided near Claiborne, housed, clothed, and fed the victims until they could be sent on their way.⁴⁵

However, the outcome was not so happy as it had first seemed to Rogan, despite the loss of his cotton, for among the passengers was his companion on the trip, a special friend and fellow townsman, a bachelor whose "money was his principal God." Around his waist in a belt, he had carried three thousand dollars, which, when it had been dried, was found to be undamaged.⁴⁶ After the travelers returned to Ashville, the

⁴³Idem.

⁴⁴Ibid., 68-69.

⁴⁵Ibid., 70.

⁴⁶Ibid., 71.

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bachelor became morose and melancholy and his mind turned to matters religious and to his own grandiose position. When he announced that he was President and made James Rogan Postmaster General, it became evident that he had become demented. After he began arrangements to have Ashville's streets paved with gold, it became necessary to confine "this poor monomaniac."⁴⁷

As probate judge it was Rogan's duty to sign papers ordering the administration of the friend's estate, but during an interval of lucidity, his former friend berated him for his meddling, including Rogan's order for the medical care the victim was forced to undergo. Soon he declined into final insanity and died.⁴⁸ Rogan then decided that it was vastly better to lose six thousand dollars in uninsured cotton than to lose one's wits.⁴⁹

Another incident James remembered and regretted occurred in 1838. During one of his extended business trips to Mobile, excitement arose throughout his home area when General Winfield Scott called for volunteers to form units for the possible suppression of the Seminoles. The ladies of Ashville gathered to make a flag under which the patriots could rally. Lilburn furnished the material from James' store. When the flag was completed, it was found that there was one stripe too many. Cries of "Nullifying flag!" arose. Thereupon the banner was taken into

⁴⁷Ibid., 72.

⁴⁸Ibid., 73.

⁴⁹Ibid., 74.

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Rogan's nearby home where the offending stripe was removed.⁵⁰ As soon as the flag was raised by the local boys to the top of the pole, John W. Cobb, a militia general and St. Clair representative in the legislature, tore it from the pole and "tramped it to the ground, uttering threats against anyone who again raised it."⁵¹

Meanwhile, during the confusion, Rogan returned from Mobile and went to his home. Still angry, General Cobb before the crowd accused him of being the perpetrator of the incident and of the removal of the added stripe. He sent word to the traveler to come out and account for his behavior, to which invitation James indignantly replied that if the general wished to see him, he could find him at the same place where his messenger had found him. Cobb did not call upon him.

When the company of volunteers was made up, the people again met in the public square, and Rogan sent word to the meeting that he would make a public statement.⁵² James had hardly begun to speak when suddenly Cobb, who had been pacing back and forth at the edge of the gathering, grasped him from behind and pulled him violently to the ground. "Considerable excitement prevailed; dangerous weapons were exhibited."⁵³ Rogan appealed for the right of freedom of speech and, when the general emotion had spent itself, explained his position. Having been asked by

⁵⁰Ibid., 94.

⁵¹Idem.

⁵²Ibid., 95.

⁵³Ibid., 96.

many friends to run for the legislature and having been convinced that all personal ties with John W. Cobb had been ended by the recent attack upon his person, Rogan decided to announce his candidacy.⁵⁴ He was elected without opposition when Cobb withdrew from the race.

General Cobb, however, continued to exhibit his resentment. When Willis Rufus, his son, came home one day with the usual schoolboy's complaint of abuse he had suffered, his father decided that the mistreatment arose from the trustee's distaste for the father. Therefore one day when Rogan was in his blacksmith's shop, Cobb again surprised him and threw him to the ground. After Rogan was raised to his feet and the general restrained by bystanders, the incident closed. The next year Cobb made apologies and overtures of friendliness, but in his old age Rogan still remembered the feeling of hostility that lay below the surface of the general's behavior.⁵⁵

James Rogan's experience in the legislature during the 1838-1839 session completely satisfied his desire for a political career. At this time opponents and proponents of both state and national banks spent endless hours arguing and introducing measures and resolutions which were discussed, voted on, tabled, and returned to committees. The governor, the legislature, and the trustees themselves sought to control the board of the State Bank.⁵⁶ Rogan during his term always

⁵⁴Ibid., 97.

⁵⁵Ibid., 98.

⁵⁶Alabama, House Journal (1838), 34 et seq.

voted to curb the power of the banks and to make them more responsive to the will of the people.⁵⁷ Also, he always voted against adjournment if work remained to be done, against the raising of the salaries of judges,⁵⁸ and for the regulation of judicial practices.⁵⁹

Because of his knowledge of the rivers and of Indians, Rogan was appointed to select committees to deal with such affairs. His greatest service, however, came to his own constituency when he introduced and guided through the house the bill to erect a courthouse and a jail in St. Clair County.⁶⁰ On December 5, he introduced a bill for the relief of St. Clair paupers which Governor Bagby signed on December 28.⁶¹ He added St. Clair to a list of counties seeking permission to elect a tax assessor,⁶² and voted for the creation of a state penal institution at Kilby.⁶³ Viewed as a whole, his votes and decisions proved wise. Much of the time he aligned himself with the Whigs, though he voted against endorsing a resolution censuring Andrew Jackson which was sent by the assembly of Kentucky to other state legislatures.⁶⁴ James' greatest amusement also came at the expense of a Whig delegate.

⁵⁷Idem.

⁵⁸Ibid., 191.

⁵⁹Ibid., 136.

⁶⁰Ibid., 46.

⁶¹Ibid., 109.

⁶²Idem.

⁶³Ibid., 196.

⁶⁴Ibid., 168-169.

One day during a long debate over the bank, the Democrats made telling blows against that institution. The following day a leading Whig came prepared to refute the opposition's arguments, bringing with him a large stack of books with pages turned down for ready reference. These books he placed on the floor beside him. A mischievous Democrat who sat behind the speaker carefully turned up the marked corners and turned down others. The baffled legislator could not fail to notice the smiles of his colleagues during his frustrated attempt at a speech. At the same time a walking cane which had been hung on one of the columns began swinging in the breeze, making a shrieking sound in the sudden wind. The Whig cried out that he would not be whistled down, that he would speak. For a while the scene was a perfect farce.⁶⁵ This ridiculous episode marked the close of Rogan's career as a lawmaker.

In his personal life Rogan was very successful. His oldest son, James, returning to Tennessee to study, remained there. Other children were born: John Netherland, September 12, 1836; Leonidas Holman, March 27, 1840; Margaret Cornelia, June 16, 1844. It was perhaps the best time of his life. Except for his business losses, which he overcame, and the death of his father, life proved pleasant and prosperous.⁶⁶

But St. Clair County must have lost its challenge, whereas in the adjacent state of Mississippi the Indian Cessions were being opened

⁶⁵Rogan, "My Life," 99.

⁶⁶Ibid., 40.

and people far away were being importuned to take advantage of the virgin land. One of Rogan's Byers friends had already moved to Panola County and C. A. Green had gone to Tippah. The call was too strong. Rogan decided to "take a look."⁶⁷

⁶⁷Ibid., 39.

CHAPTER VII

A DECADE OF CONTRASTS

When the old highways and bypaths became too familiar, James Rogan moved. He never explained fully his motives for change. In some instances opportunities for economic advancement influenced his decision. According to his account:

In the fall of 1844 I had some inducements held out to me to move to the state of Mississippi, so in the month of Nov. I made a little prospective tour by way of Tuscaloosa and Demopolis...on to Paulding /where one of the land offices was established/...then turning north /passed/ through Louisville, Philadelphia, Houston, Pontotoc, on to Ripley, Tippah County. There, after looking around for a time, finally purchased the place I am now living on....¹

At this time Tippah was a new county, less than nine years old. The town of Ripley was younger. Indians who had chosen to remain on their old lands were still to be seen throughout Tippah County, which after its creation on February 9, 1836,² embraced several times its present area.

In 1845 when Lafayette was fourteen, James sent him with slaves, livestock, and farming implements to clear the land, plant crops, and build a dwelling house. James believed in giving responsibility to his children while they were still young.³ For so young an overseer,

¹Rogan, "My Life," 37.

²Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi (2 vols., Chicago, 1891), I, 260.

³Rogan, "My Life," 32.

Lafayette -- possibly more like his father than any of the children -- performed his assignment very well. Designed with a broad verandah across the width of the house and constructed with a central hall after the fashion of the day, the Rogan dwelling had a long left wing in order to make room to accommodate the family. A finished basement underlay the left wing, with cellars for root crops, fruit, preserves, and jellies. Smokehouses, big barns, stables, and slaves' houses were strung out across the hill. To the rear of the home stood the well-house, a lattice structure on sturdy posts, covered by a conical roof. The house itself, of clapboards, was made of "handsawn heart pine." The heavy timbers forming its structure were smooth from hand rubbing, the whole being held together with a flatboatman's inch oaken pins. It is a tribute to a late frontier boy's character that for one hundred years in spite of tornadoes which shook it and the hazards of humidity which assailed it, Lafayette's house stood on its foundation glowing and strong. It stands yet. In a saucer-shaped valley he and his "work hands"⁴ built a dam which held the spring waters which gushed from the Tippah hills into the clear pool.

Not far from the farm which James Rogan bought rose the three Hatchie rivers. After the state helped clear the stream, flatboats came up the Tallahatchie as far as Williamson's Landing -- now New Albany -- in Tippah County to take away the cotton to New Orleans. Entering upon his fiftieth year shortly after his removal to Ripley, James

⁴James Rogan somehow could seldom quite bring himself to speak of his slaves as such. He referred to them as "helps," "workhands," "colored men and women," or as servants.

CHAPTER 1. THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

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had chosen for his new home a place that, while a little less rigorous, was still recognizably akin to his past environments, still new, still exciting.

During October, 1846, his term of office in Ashville having come to an end, James moved his family into Lafayette's house and began his farming operations.⁵ Many of those who lived in Ripley in 1846 continued as his friends for the remainder of his life, but others moved away, and newcomers arrived, so that within a few years Rogan was an "old settler," a founding father, and, by the will of the people, Judge of the Probate Court -- an office he held until the unsettled conditions of war forced him to give up such duties.⁶ Nevertheless, before he became an officeholder again, he took time to go with his friend, Judge C. A. Green, formerly of Alabama, to the budding metropolis of Memphis to engage in cotton speculation. This visit occurred during the fall and winter of 1847, two years before Memphis achieved the status of a city. While there, James had the misfortune to fall victim to pneumonia, which kept him away from home for two months and from which he barely recovered.⁷

At the time James moved to Ripley, the entire countryside was in a turmoil over two events. One of these was the war with Mexico. Judge Reuben Davis, of the High Court of Errors and Appeals, and other prominent men recruited for the then current unpleasantness and had such

⁵Rogan, "My Life," 31.

⁶Ibid., 33.

⁷Ibid., 32.

The following are the names of the persons who have been
and their present addresses, as far as known, and the date
of their death.

1. *John Smith*, born 1810, died 1880, at New York.

2. *John Smith*, born 1810, died 1880, at New York.

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21. *John Smith*, born 1810, died 1880, at New York.

success that in Tippah County some aspirants who had been unable to find a berth in the First Mississippi Regiment hastened to join forces with the bedeviled Second. Martial and patriotic ladies lent their talents to the preparing of such banners and equipment as they or the volunteers deemed necessary.⁸

The local company, called the Tippah Guards, had as its First Lieutenant a rising young lawyer of twenty-one, William C. Falkner of Ripley. The captain was A. M. Jackson, one of those fiery, ardent Irishmen, quick in mind and body, gentle and courteous, who knew how to make their way on the frontier. After the war Jackson stayed on to serve as Chief Justice of the New Mexico Territory until a desire to be at home brought him back to Ripley after secession.⁹

Altogether such a horde of distinguished men made up the officer corps of the Second Mississippi Regiment that the Governor of the state wrote the Secretary of War that the regiment contained lawyers, judges, generals, legislators, doctors, and gentlemen of every description.¹⁰ His only omission in this list of distinguished men was of fighters, but there were some of those, too. Ripley was much agitated by the bad reports that came of ill-health and casualties among the men

⁸Noverta Walker Scrapbook, clipped newspaper article, n.p., n.d., Noverta Walker Papers in Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University; Dunbar Rowland, "Military History of Mississippi, 1803-1898," The Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi, 1908 (Jackson, 1908), 415.

⁹Reuben Davis, Recollections of Mississippi and Mississippians (Boston, 1890), 168-169.

¹⁰Rowland, op. cit., 415-416.

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of the Second Regiment, but, at that, fewer Tippah men were lost from the Guards than from any other unit in the Regiment. Those few were sacrificed to the most persistent enemy of fighting men -- filth and disease. The camp, not the field, was the Nemesis of the Guards.¹¹

In a pattern that was to be followed in a later and larger conflict, the young lieutenant of the local company returned before his unit was sent home. Though the Second had not engaged in actual fighting, William Falkner was ill and wounded. People in Ripley, knowing nothing of the service of the various units, immediately made a hero of the young man. The groundwork was laid for a romantic career.¹² Destined to become the most popular and most widely known man in the history of Ripley and Tippah, Falkner had drifted into the town in his adolescence looking for an uncle by marriage, John W. Thompson, who lived there. Instead of finding his uncle at home, Falkner learned that he was in jail in Pontotoc because of a murder committed at the place where he had been teaching.¹³ An attorney of recognized ability, Thompson declined to have anything to do with the youth who had walked from Missouri to find him.

Falkner found a home for himself with the sheriff of Tippah County until an Irish schoolteacher and lawyer, James Keenan, took him

¹¹Natchez Weekly Courier, June 9, 1847.

¹²Alexander Bondurant, "William C. Falkner, Novelist," Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, III (1900), 114 et seq.; Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi, I, 713.

¹³William V. O'Connor, The Tangled Fire of William Falkner (Minneapolis, 1954), 4-5.

in, educated him, and made a lawyer of him. Gradually, after Thompson returned to Ripley, Falkner won his approval,¹⁴ a sure passport to social and financial success. When Falkner returned from Mexico -- wounded, ambitious, self-assured -- he made a pathetic figure of a hero, a role in which he was to become a master. It was at this point that the Rogans, new to Ripley, first met this man who would soon play an important part in their lives, both directly and indirectly. Although the affray during the war with Mexico in which Falkner received his wounds was sufficiently controversial to prevent his obtaining a disability pension, he had been shot in the left foot and had lost parts of three fingers from his left hand.¹⁵ Upon entering the law office of Thompson and Prentiss,¹⁶ he soon came into contact with James Rogan, to whom he was unfailingly courteous and kind.

With such a man in its midst -- swashbuckling, inordinately energetic, imaginative, ruthless in business, warm and generous in his personal relationships -- Ripley could hardly avoid the results of the impact of his personality, some effects being beneficial and others

¹⁴Memphis Commercial Appeal, August 24, 1930.

¹⁵Andrew Brown, "The First Mississippi Partisan Rangers, C.S.A.," Civil War History, I (1955), 372.

¹⁶Ripley Advertiser, November 8, 1881. No statement about Falkner is more puzzling than this one. Written and published by John Ford, who knew him as well, and was as close to him, as anyone in his life, one who lived in Ripley at the time of which he wrote, Ford's involvement of S. S. Prentiss in Thompson's firm is still a dubious matter. So far no study of the Prentiss bibliography or papers, the latter of which are incomplete, has revealed the connection. Yet it is another factor in the constantly growing Falkner legend that is in keeping with the character of the man and is quite possibly true.

detrimental. In the latter category was the constant rift his actions caused in Ripley society -- a rift at times open, at times hidden behind a placid facade, but always present. This cleavage arose in 1851 when William Falkner killed his first man on the streets of Ripley. It grew wider when he killed the second sometime later. In both instances the courts acquitted him. Part of the Ripley citizenry did not.¹⁷ The Rogans had one year in which to establish themselves before Falkner's return from Mexico, and they seem to have been able, as a consequence, not to have had to align themselves with any faction. Rogan's nature was to avoid partisanship.

Another eminent Ripley citizen with whom James Rogan was closely associated was Orlando Davis, the first lawyer to reside in the new town, one whose inclination was to take sides -- first one, then the other, with a lawyer's skill. It was through Davis in his capacity with the American Land Company that Rogan bought his first Mississippi land, a quarter section in the southeastern part of Tippah County, near the edge of Ripley.¹⁸ Why Rogan had to pay almost two hundred and fifty dollars to the trustees of the land company in 1855 and receive a second deed is not made clear by the records, but the property remained his home even after he acquired other holdings in the county.¹⁹ Davis, after

¹⁷C. J. Frederick to the Memphis Appeal, April 16, 1881.

¹⁸Deed Book O, Tippah County, Mississippi, 357 (Courthouse at Ripley); the American Land Company to James Rogan, October 1, 1855, deed in the possession of the author.

¹⁹Deed Books K, L, M, P, Tippah County, Mississippi, passim.

being on the popular side locally before and during the Civil War, managed also to be on the correct side after the conflict, at which time he again affected Rogan's life.

In 1854 James bought a piece of land that consisted of the "E half of the SW quarter of Section 25, Township 4, Range 3 East." This was a part of the original lands set aside from the Indian Cession for the benefit of the poor. It was sold to Rogan for four hundred dollars, a sum which was to be used in the support of paupers. The overseers who disposed of the land were H. W. Stricklin, Rogan's neighbor and the Probate Judge when James first came to Ripley; W. R. Cole, a merchant; and C. A. Green, his partner in cotton speculation.²⁰

With his interest in schools still high when he left Alabama, in Ripley Rogan had even more reason than before for promoting educational opportunity for the youth of the community. Margaret Cornelia, born June 16, 1844, was nearing school age, and the birth on July 19, 1848, of Sarah Alabama, his only Mississippi-born child, gave added incentive to Rogan to lend his efforts to the establishment of schools in Ripley.²¹ The oldest son, James W., who had returned to East Tennessee, had attended Maryville College. On November 4, 1846, he had married Margaret McKinney of Rogersville and settled there, where, under the influence of John Netherland, he remained close to the many relatives still in that section.²² When Amos' son left his household, James for

²⁰Deed Book K, Tippah County, Mississippi, 559; H. W. Stricklin, C. A. Green, W. R. Cole to James Rogan, September 2, 1854, deed in the possession of the author.

²¹Rogan, "Family Record," 2.

²²Conversation with Mr. Prentiss Price, Rogersville, Tennessee, August 30, 1960.

the first time was responsible only for his own family.

At the time Rogan first arrived in Ripley most of the teaching was being done in log cabins by young men who were reading law or medicine in preparation for their own future careers. Among those who instructed the young were Charles Word, later congressman; William C. Falkner, later lawyer and magnate; and Dr. William Carter, who was greatly respected. In 1859 two schools were erected, the Ripley School for boys and the Academy for girls. For this second institution Mrs. Mary Jane Vance Buchanan, one of the most widely known educators in north Mississippi, was installed in her initial session of a thirty year career in Ripley and environs. Rogan's daughters and several granddaughters had their schooling from her.²³

Although his economic life at first ran smoothly and James Rogan was happy in his new home, the adversities of increasing years began to exact their relentless toll. On August 16, 1854, Sarah Netherland Rogan died. Of her passing, James wrote:

It was the will of the Lord to take from me my precious and beloved wife. She was a devoted Christian woman and I am well assured from her dieing as well as living testimony that her present state is of a most glorious character. Yet to me it has ever been a mournful loss, so that none others have been permitted to occupy her place.²⁴

²³Ripley Reporter, May 10, 1915; Ripley Southern Sentinel, April 28, 1921.

²⁴Rogan, "My Life," 34.

At the time when the late Mr. James H. Harris was living, the world was in a state of great excitement, and the people were looking for a new era of progress. The late Mr. Harris was a man of great energy and ability, and he was one of the first to see the need for a new era of progress. He was a man of great energy and ability, and he was one of the first to see the need for a new era of progress. He was a man of great energy and ability, and he was one of the first to see the need for a new era of progress.

James H. Harris, 1840-1900

James H. Harris was a man of great energy and ability, and he was one of the first to see the need for a new era of progress. He was a man of great energy and ability, and he was one of the first to see the need for a new era of progress. He was a man of great energy and ability, and he was one of the first to see the need for a new era of progress.

It was a great honor to have the late Mr. James H. Harris as a guest at the dinner given in his honor. He was a man of great energy and ability, and he was one of the first to see the need for a new era of progress. He was a man of great energy and ability, and he was one of the first to see the need for a new era of progress. He was a man of great energy and ability, and he was one of the first to see the need for a new era of progress.

Rogan seldom wrote in detail of Sarah's activities, but, in his letters and papers that remain, often mentioned his devotion to her. He consoled himself after her death by noting that "this is the first and only death occurring in my family, white or black, for about thirty-two years."²⁵ Indeed, his "black family" was especially useful at that time. Catherine Crawford, the only child born at Gunter's Landing, "assumed the cares and duties of housekeeping and of being mother to her youngest sister, Sallie Alabama, then only six years of age."²⁶ With the aid of the household servants, Cattie Rogan, postponing her own marriage, set about to make a home for four brothers, her cousins, her father, and her two little sisters, six and ten. Pretty, full of domestic virtues, loved and feared by the little girls, she maintained the hospitality and even tenor of the household.²⁷

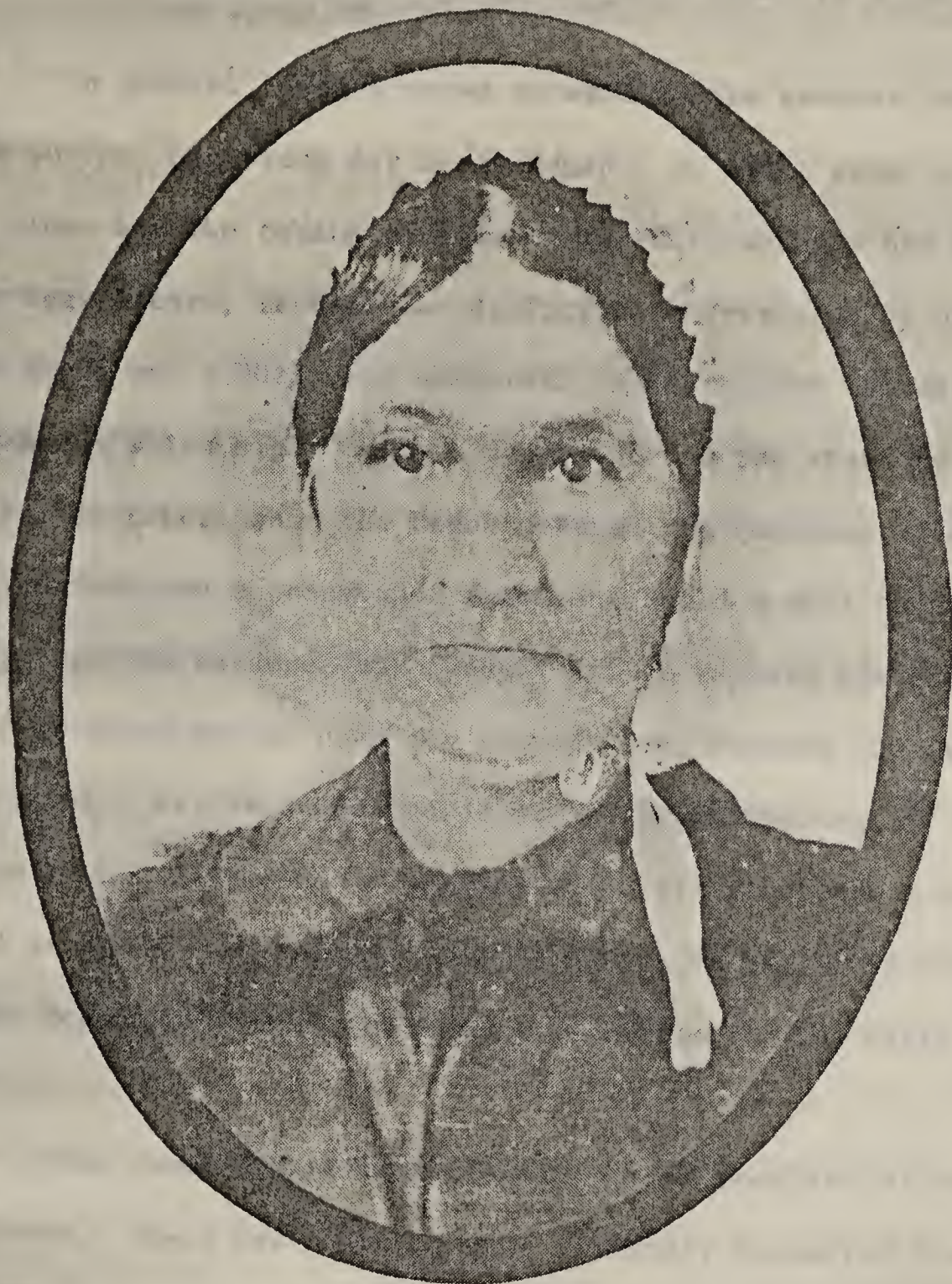
Two years later, on October 26, 1856, the matriarch of the family, Catherine Crawford Rogan, died in Kingsport. For James it was a time for remembering. It was of his mother that he had his earliest memory, from her that he learned patience and gentleness. Whenever and wherever he had gone in the East on his travels, he had made a practice of visiting her. He wrote a short character study of her, of which only the last two pages are extant.

After years of a rather unsettled life your
Grandma attached herself to the Presbyterian

²⁵Idem.

²⁶Ibid., 35.

²⁷Ibid., 36; Markell Diary, I, May 29, 1861.



Catherine Crawford Rogan

Church under the Rev'd Robert Glenn. All the time before and after this /she/ lived a pious, contented, and happy life, rearing up a large family of children, all of whom she had the inexplicable gratification before their death to know had joined /her/ in /her/ march to a better world.²⁸

In general, events moved forward toward greater tragedy, more intense sorrow, not along for James Rogan. It was a time for the drawing of lines and the taking of sides. Earlier, when he had been in the Alabama Legislature, it had been difficult to determine by his vote whether Rogan was a Whig or a Democrat. Self-reliant himself, he opposed Whig measures which might lead to dependence on the state by its citizens. For instance, when the house debated the question of whether to allow a certain man to construct a dam and build a mill on a stream, he voted against the measure, but thought fit to explain his stand. He contended that there was no need for the measure, because the man already had the right. All he needed to do was to begin working.²⁹ As Rogan's colleague Richmond Hammond, a wealthy St. Clair planter who owned six thousand acres of land, always voted with the Whigs, it is easy to determine when Rogan voted with the Democrats because of the split St. Clair vote.³⁰

Thus James Rogan found himself in the position of many people in the South. There was no party that precisely supported his principle

²⁸James Rogan, Notes, manuscript in the possession of the author.

²⁹Alabama, House Journal (1833), 222.

³⁰Ibid., passim.

of progress within the framework of the law. His political beliefs were similar to those of his brother-in-law, John Netherland of Rogersville. Whatever else East Tennessee might be, it was also the home of the late John Sevier, who was still active when the Rogans moved to Kingsport. Whether stopping at the Deery Inn in Rogersville or the Netherland Inn in Kingsport, the founder of Tennessee exuded a warmth of personal good will and a very genuine democracy which those who knew him found hard to resist. His conflicts with Jackson left a legacy of opposition to Jackson's policies and tactics. The Rogans and Netherlands admired Sevier. He possibly exerted great influence on them. At any rate, John Netherland, also perhaps influenced by his James River family, became a Whig.³¹

Educated at Tusculum under Dr. Samuel Doak, Netherland had read law under Judge Samuel Powell, receiving his law license before he was twenty-one. At twenty-three he was a state senator. He was more than once a presidential elector on the Whig ticket. In 1859 he was unanimously chosen by the Whigs to oppose the powerful incumbent, Isham Harris, for governor, despite the fact that he had been narrowly defeated by John Bell for the United States Senate in the previous year.³² A handsome man, six feet tall, graceful, well-proportioned, faultlessly dressed, Netherland became a leader of Tennessee Whiggery.³³

³¹Oliver P. Temple, Notable Men of Tennessee (New York, 1912), 159-165.

³²W. M. Caskey, "The Second Administration of Governor Andrew Johnson," East Tennessee Historical Society Publications, II (1930), 34-54.

³³Taylor, op. cit., 162.

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Mississippi never reached quite the heights of partisanship attained by Tennessee during the declining days of the Whig party, the nativistic principles finding little congenial soil in which to flourish.³⁴ The state party had such a colorful and eloquent leader in Seargent S. Prentiss that it found followers even in the hill counties. Associated with John W. Thompson in many legal proceedings, Prentiss early cast his spell over Thompson's nephew, William Falkner. Falkner became, youthful though he was, the leading Whig of Ripley. In the fifties a Know-Nothing paper, called the Uncle Sam, spoke anonymously for Whig principles. Its place of publication was not generally known, but many suspected that the work was done at Pontotoc. It was believed that the anonymous editor was Falkner, who by that time was widely recognized for his pamphlets and books. No copy of the Uncle Sam has been uncovered, although well into the present century many remembered it.³⁵

Under whatever distinguished leadership the political parties of Tippah came, Rogan -- "cured of political aspirations" in 1838-1839 -- took so little part in the controversies of the hour that, after the war, people were not positive about his affiliations. Locally, with the division of the town resulting from the so-called Falkner duels, many citizens besides James remained silent, and many like him retained their

³⁴Arthur C. Cole, "Nativism in the Lower Mississippi Valley," Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, VI (1912-1913), 267.

³⁵Paul L. Berry, Chief, Serials Division, Library of Congress, to the author, March 1, 1960; conversations with Dr. John Murry and Dr. Jefferson D. Burns, Ripley, Mississippi, April 6, 1931; Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi, I, 714.

friends in both camps. A potent factor in the town had been former Governor Joseph W. Matthews, whose home had been in Tippah County before the county's division. This blunt Democrat, who opposed repudiation of the state's financial obligations, had had a large local following from the time when he surveyed the county. His honest policies coincided with Rogan's views. It is difficult to doubt Rogan's insistence on his own loyalty to the Union, especially when nothing else in his life seems to have been based on deceit. His friend, Governor R. P. Lowe of Iowa, in correspondence with him during this decade, insisted that Rogan admit he was an old-line, pre-Republican Whig.³⁶

In 1858 Governor McWillie of Mississippi, faced with the portents of impending national crisis as the aftermath of John Brown's raid, asked the legislature to appropriate one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the arming of volunteer military units to supplement the militia. Tippah responded and, in the militia the following year, boasted of a bona fide Brigadier General, William Falkner.³⁷

Meanwhile, even though the Rogan family began to scatter, in the natural course of events it grew in size. Amos' son, James, had gone to Texas, married there, and become the father of two children, all within the decade.³⁸ In 1857 John Netherland Rogan returned to the old

³⁶Ripley Reporter, May 10, 1915; R. P. Lowe to James Rogan, September 7, 1873, Rogan Papers.

³⁷Rowland, op. cit., 420.

³⁸Rogan, "Biography."

Greensport District in Alabama where, at Ft. Strother, he married Marie Wood. He was twenty-three. He brought his wife back to Ripley and on acres that James Rogan and Marie's father, George Wood, deeded to them, began farming for himself. There his own son, Charles, was born, February 5, 1858. In 1859, however, John also "had inducements" and moved to Jacksonport, Arkansas, and during the following year moved on to Texas.³⁹

Richard Rogan remains an enigma. When his family moved to Mississippi he was thirteen, but he continued to spend much time in Alabama. It is known that he visited relatives in the East and probably in the West. While he was in Washington, after maturity, he had Matthew Brady photograph him with most happy results. A handsome man, with blue eyes and waving hair and a face marked by dignity and questioning appraisal, he appears to be intelligent, aware, and daring. This portrait must surely be one of Brady's best. Richard was a charming young man, independent, capable, honorable, and solitary.⁴⁰

Like his brothers, Leonidas attended the Ripley school for boys. The pride of the family, the last of the sons, he was petted by brothers and sisters. His father gave him some land to farm for himself and, although he continued to live at home, he had the income and responsibility of an adult. At the end of the decade he was still only nineteen. Born at the peak of his father's career, after the advent of roads and railroads and steamboats had made travel easier, he missed some of the excitement

³⁹W. A. Gray, D.D., to "Whom It May Concern," November, 1860, letter transferring church membership, Rogan Papers; Rogan, "My Life," 38.

⁴⁰Rogan, "Biography."

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that prosperity and maturing society abolished. Among the statements of accounts that James kept is one which shows that 'Ondy, as he was called, had entered upon the career of a beau. Catherine, evidently a seamstress of some attainments, not only provided clothing for her young sisters but also helped to keep her young brother in sartorial elegance, as well. Almost every month in 1859 and 1860, the tailor's bill lists "cut coat for boy," "cut coat and vest for boy." As 'Ondy grew older, the statement reads "for son."⁴¹

Two other small accounts which Rogan settled for his sons were one for three dollars and fifty cents for two days' hire of "hack and harness," used on the first portion of John's prospective tour of Arkansas,⁴² and the final payment on a four hundred dollar note Richard had signed, consisting of six dollars and eighty-eight cents in interest. By the time James closed out his son's debt the interest on the interest had brought the sum to almost twelve dollars. It took James Rogan a long time to pay these small bills, which were presented to him years after their making, but in the meantime the war intervened.⁴³

A bill from the firm of Cox and Moody sheds some light on the daily activity in the Rogan household. On March 2, 1860, when spring was arriving, James was charged for one varnish brush, fifty cents, and

⁴¹"James Rogan -- due to N. S. Prince and Company," Ripley, Mississippi, March, 1865, Rogan Papers.

⁴²"James Rogan -- due to S. R. Spight," Ripley, Mississippi, March, 1865, Rogan Papers.

⁴³Idem.

for one bottle of coach varnish, seventy-five cents.⁴⁴ Because James Rogan himself preferred walking the long mile to town in fair weather and foul, one can only infer that the young ladies needed the carriage refurbished in order to pursue their social and religious activities.⁴⁵

On December 3, 1860, Leonidas had bought -- surely not for himself -- one bottle of asafetida, for seventy-five cents, and in the spring, for someone in the family who evidently had chills and fever, regular amounts of quinine. Also listed were the following items familiar to the medicine cabinets of one hundred years ago:

1860	castor oil	.50
	gum arabic	.25
	spirits of turpentine	.50
	2 oz. of laudanum	.25
1861	do	.30, etc.
	Total	\$11.85 ⁴⁶

Altogether the family seems to have been blessed with good health, for this drug bill represented the medicines for Rogan's family "white and black" for a period of two years.

But these sons were not all of Rogan's family. Lafayette, who had built the house and along with Dick and 'Ondy and John had gone through the Ripley schools, became a merchant. In 1860, having married Ellen Jane Hunt of a prominent Ripley family which was formerly of the Virginia Tidewater country, he was operating his business and proving

⁴⁴"James Rogan -- due to Cox and Moody," Ripley, Mississippi, March 10, 1863, Rogan Papers.

⁴⁵Idem.

⁴⁶Idem.

himself as successful in that field as in others. Lafayette became a partner of Ellen's uncle, Richard Thurmond, and by 1860 had real property valued at twenty-five hundred dollars. His personal property was four times that sum.⁴⁷

With his sons self-supporting, with only Leonidas remaining under his roof, James Rogan himself faced the census taker. Besides himself, sixty-two years of age, and Leonidas, nineteen, he listed as members of his household three daughters: Catherine, thirty-one; Margaret, sixteen; Sarah, ten. Of his financial assets, reduced by that time because of his retirement from office and his support of the ventures of his sons, he was very positive. The value of his real estate was five thousand dollars; of his personal property, eighteen thousand, six hundred and forty-six dollars.⁴⁸ Never a large slaveowner, his need for help had decreased, despite the fact that his sons had left home. In connection with his farm he operated a gristmill, a gin, and a blacksmith shop, which certainly after the war and probably before, served his neighbors. His stables held a number of carriage and saddle horses as well as the work animals. Tax records having been destroyed, it is necessary to depend on deed books for information, a source which gives no cumulative evidence of holdings at any particular period.⁴⁹

As with his sons, so with Rogan's daughters. Maria, the oldest,

⁴⁷Microfilm MSS, 1860 Census Population Schedules, Mississippi, Tippah County, 648.

⁴⁸Ibid., 571.

⁴⁹Deed Books M, O, Tippah County, Mississippi.

who had come down the river from Tennessee on a flatboat in her infancy and had married James Pinckney Wood in Ashville in 1846, was the mother of four children. Maria was always a favorite of her father's, and he and his family often visited her household. She enjoyed a gracious life, free of financial care.⁵⁰

For the three girls at home life presented various aspects. Catherine, seeing her youth fade as she cared for her younger sisters and brothers and managed the household of her father, sometimes made perfectionism paramount. Conscious of her responsibility, she probably held the reins more tightly on the younger children than their mother, a product of the free and independent frontier, would have thought necessary. Ripley and Tippah County, developing rapidly, had attracted settlers from the older communities of South and East. Pretentious dwellings began to dot the countryside. Literary societies and temperance organizations, which were almost wholly social and decidedly exclusive, combined with church activities to create an atmosphere of some dignity and gaiety. Charades, amateur theatricals, quadrilles punctuated the winter season. In summer local families visited the watering places, sometimes as far away as Virginia and Alabama, but often no farther than Iuka Springs.⁵¹ Carriages, driven from door to door by menservants, delivered invitations to soirees, the invitations being elaborate arrange-

⁵⁰Conversation with Mrs. J. B. Shannon, New Albany, Mississippi, June 16, 1951.

⁵¹Mrs. Bama Falkner McLean of Memphis, Tennessee, to the author, August 21, 1952.

ments of nosegays, notes, and hand-colored souvenirs carried on baskets or silver trays.⁵² Grooming the children to take their place in this ante bellum society without letting affectations and frivolities creep in to affect the Rogan simplicity was not an uncomplicated task for Catherine Rogan. It left her no abundance of time to pursue her own romance, which nevertheless somehow through the years remained unimpaired.⁵³

Margaret -- Mag -- the gentle, lustrous-eyed combination of shyness, warmth and beauty -- at sixteen met a tall young man from Attalaville, George W. Brooks, who had recently moved to Tippah County. After a short courtship, Margaret and George obtained James' permission for their marriage, which took place on December 6, 1860.⁵⁴

After Margaret's marriage there was no one near Sally's age in the household. She wandered often to the kitchen where the cook, "Aunt Nancy," alternately scolded her and smothered her with affection. Like the girls of the town, she attended the Academy under Mrs. Buchanan's supervision. There she found a wealth of affection and understanding. There she learned music as well as mathematics. A small girl who was expected at all times to be a young lady, she became very shy, a fact which made her less and less conspicuous in the busy world of adults concerned with a crisis. Sally was not born into a world in which, by one's

⁵²Conversation with Mrs. John Walker, Ripley, Mississippi, April 6, 1931.

⁵³Markell, Diary, I, May 28, 1861.

⁵⁴Conversation with Mrs. George W. Brooks, Jr., Holly Springs, Mississippi, May 29, 1960.

own choice, a life might be made to one's liking. The forces that shaped her adolescence and young womanhood involved millions of men, none wise enough or strong enough to solve problems simply for her or for their country.⁵⁵

The critical decade passed. James Rogan had experienced two great sorrows in the loss of wife and mother and probably innumerable small disappointments, but he had achieved the success he desired. His children were leading normal, successful, and apparently happy lives. He himself, after serving as judge as long as conditions permitted, retired to his farm where, surrounded by friends and family, he had ample time to devote to his church. James remembered that period as being personally a pleasant one. He stated that "the fees from my office and the proceeds from my little farm enabled me to get along smoothly and happily in my family relations, having no severe sickness in my family...."⁵⁶

In Ripley there was a town square, better kept before the war than after, and about it ran alternately muddy or dusty roads, depending on the weather. At one corner of the square sat the town tavern. There travelers stopped overnight and the men of the vicinity gathered for other reasons. The Sims Brothers operated a stage line from Memphis to Decatur, Alabama, by way of Holly Springs and Ripley, and, when the coach came to the crest of the hill where the Stricklin and the Rogan farms lay, the coachman, perched on his high seat, raised his bugle and

⁵⁵Conversation with Mrs. E. M. Owen, New Albany, Mississippi, January 11, 1961.

⁵⁶Rogan, "My Life," 35.

blew loud blasts on his horn to indicate the number of guests for dinner and for the night's lodgings at the tavern. Then he cracked his whip over his four horses and sent the coach crashing and rattling the last mile into town. Seeing this innovation of the 1840's, children in the vicinity dashed as madly as the horses, to stand in awe at the breath-taking sight. Whereas mail had been delayed for weeks in transit before the advent of the stages, people within the sound of the post horn could gather soon after its arrival for letters mailed only a few days before. Postage was "four pence," six and a half cents; "a bit," twelve and a half; or "two bits," depending on the distance that the massive had traveled.⁵⁷

In addition to acquiring the inn and coach line, the town replaced the log "palace of justice" with a brick building which occupied a lot opposite another brick structure which had been erected as a home for a branch of the ill-fated Bank of Brandon. Where James B. Walker had formerly operated a press and published the Mississippian, John B. Ford moved in to establish the long-lasting Advertiser. Most of the churches had separate buildings, though the Presbyterians still shared theirs with the Episcopalians.⁵⁸

For all its isolation, the Ripley that Rogan knew was a busy hamlet. Half a dozen doctors and twice as many lawyers made the place their home. Mercantile establishments encircled the public square. Two streets away to the west, on a ridge that bisected the town, so many of

⁵⁷Ripley Reporter, May 24, 1915.

⁵⁸Idem.

the prominent citizens built their homes that it won its lasting epithet, Quality Ridge. William Falkner had published his handbill, "The Life of McCannon," which portrayed the life of a highwayman hanged at Ripley. Also he was the author of two small books inspired by his service in Mexico. One of these was called The Spanish Heroine. It was of the type which James Rogan called "trashy literature." At about the same time, Rogan wrote for the children of the Sabbath School, of which he was for forty years superintendent, a very moral, rhymed homily called "Hearts Stolen, or the Effect of Reading Bad Books." It began

Cornelias Agrippa went out one day
His study he locked ere he went away
And gave the key of his door to his wife
And charged her to keep it locked for her life.

"And if anyone ask my study to see,
I charge you trust him not with the key.
Whoever may beg and entreat and implore
For your life, let no one enter that door!"

It was perhaps not technically a good poem, but it spoke the kind of lesson people liked to hear on Sunday, and Rogan spent much time in composing such fables throughout the week. Needless to say, in the allegory a young man was destroyed. Rogan ended with a warning:

Henceforth let all of the young folks take heed
How in the conjurer's book they do read.⁵⁹

The difference in emphasis was at once evident, although Falkner had also concluded his book with an epilogue in the form of a rhyme, not so moral as James', but more practical. It implored the reader not to borrow but to buy his book, because the author needed the money.⁶⁰ Dramatic,

⁵⁹Rogan, "Hearts Stolen, or The Effect of Reading Bad Books," unpaginated manuscript in the possession of the author.

⁶⁰William C. Falkner, The Spanish Heroine, A Tale of War and Love (Cincinnati, 1851), 96.

full of literary allusions and much pathos, Falkner's book caused a furore in the town. It was written while he was wintering in Ohio after fatally wounding Robert Hindman, a member of a wealthy Tippah County family, because of a quarrel over membership in the local Temperance Society. Undoubtedly the book was read in Mississippi, but whether it was borrowed -- a practice Falkner repeatedly deplored -- or was lost in the fires of the war, at present no copy can be found except one which is in the Library of Congress.

In Ripley as in the entire South the lure of California's gold precipitated an exodus of ambitious citizens. One of those who departed was young Patrick Vance, brother of Mrs. Buchanan, the mistress of the girls' school. He left without knowing that his sister, Elizabeth Vance, would soon become the second wife of William Falkner. Through inter-marriage with the Vances, the Rogan family was later to become related to Falkner, "the noblest man Ripley ever produced."⁶¹

But gold fever did not end with the exodus of young adventurers. Older men began to think about the hills. They began to notice the color of the rocks cropping out from the earth. Soon the hills along the road from Ripley to Iuka, where James Rogan owned land, were dotted like a rash with prospectors' diggings. Misled by the mineral pyrites which had deceived others before them to gain their name "fool's gold," most of the enthusiasts found mining discouraging. Others, however, when the hope of gold faded, continued digging for "precious metals." One group, on throwing a handful of the pyrites into a crucible over the fire from which it went off as a gas, on finding a piece of metal in the ashes, jubilantly

⁶¹Ripley Sentinel, November 8, 1889.

announced the discovery of brass. Another group tried washing minerals in a chemical and proclaimed the discovery of copper, the chief ingredient of their chemical solution having adhered to the rock. When the state geologist, Lewis Harper, visited the site, he found the men working at a depth of forty feet, a distance that had increased to sixty by the time E. W. Hilgard, his assistant geologist from the University of Mississippi, visited the scene.⁶² Although Rogan is not known to have taken part in or encouraged such explorations, probably neither he nor the majority of the citizens of the community would have hesitated to join the poor gamblers, had success been indicated at any point.

But Judge Rogan amused himself. Being always creative and accustomed to answering many of his own prayers according to Franklin's maxim, whenever he had need of an article, he produced it himself if possible. One of the first requirements of providing for his family was to assemble enough furniture for use and comfort. In the process of creating with wood -- from flatboats to houses -- he built many pieces of furniture that still exist despite hazardous moves, fires, war and pillage, and distribution to various children. Among these articles are a grandfather clock, an Empire couch -- now called a day bed, a type of escritoire known in the South as a planter's desk, various chairs, and tables with marble tops. And although in his home the silver spoon and china bowl replaced the wooden spoon and the "pewter Bason," Rogan continued to preach to the children of his household, as to those he met on Sunday, about the enduring luster of simplicity.⁶³

⁶²Lewis Harper, Preliminary Report on the Geology and Agriculture of the State of Mississippi (Jackson, 1857), 268-272.

⁶³Rogan, Talks, Rogan Papers.

CHAPTER VIII

A TIME OF ORDEAL

In 1859 Ripley became the site of a county fair which proved so successful that it was decided by the committee in charge to make the holding of the fair an annual event. In spite of the momentous issues before the country and the recent heated political campaign between the Democrats and the State Rights Whigs -- the old-line Whigs having little influence in the community -- Ripley itself had perhaps reached its maximum extent of general congeniality and harmony. The peaceful spirit prevailed because the Hindman-Falkner antagonism came to an end. In 1857 T. C. Hindman had challenged William Falkner to a duel to settle the old scores and put one or the other at peace with his conscience, for the animosities had continued even after Hindman had moved to Arkansas during the decade. After having his seconds wait upon his opponent, Hindman confided his plans to the editor of the Memphis Appeal, Colonel M. C. Galloway. The regulations governing the proposed duel were drawn up, the plan being that no seconds would be allowed upon the scene, which was to be on the western bank of the Mississippi opposite Memphis. Colonel Galloway was engaged as the sole witness and referee. Once the signal was given, the men, armed with two pistols each, were to turn and fire at will as often as was necessary to satisfy their honor. It was to be a fight to the death.¹

¹C. J. Frederick to the Memphis Appeal, September 21, 1881.

In this chapter we shall see how the people of the North
 reacted to the news of the discovery of the gold fields.
 The discovery of gold in California had created a great
 excitement all over the world. The people of the North
 were very anxious to go to California to seek their fortune.
 The first party to go was a small party of men led by James
 W. W. Hearst. They went in 1842. They found gold in the
 San Joaquin River. They were the first to find gold in
 California. The news of their discovery spread all over the
 world. Many people came to California to seek their fortune.
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 California. The news of their discovery spread all over the
 world. Many people came to California to seek their fortune.

Colonel Galloway persuaded these two swashbuckling gentlemen to give up their bloodthirsty designs and to become friends. Indeed, Falkner went over into Arkansas, where his former enemy was a candidate for Congress, gave a barbecue in his honor, and spoke on his behalf. The only hatchet that was buried in anyone's scalp was the political one used on Hindman's opponent. Hindman was elected.²

After the amicable solution of the long-standing feud, the entire population of Ripley relaxed, and the county fair, long desired by community leaders, became a reality. With the settlement of local difficulties, it was hardly possible that remote threats to security like the national conventions and elections could interfere. At least no local blood would be shed for some time.

In an elaborate program and premium list, printed locally and bound in blue, the Fair committee set forth its regulations governing entries and conduct.³ The premiums themselves had a rather high value, even by today's standards, ranging from two dollars and a half to twenty-five dollars, with the average about ten. There was perhaps a better range of articles for display than in a similar local exposition of today. The entries ranged in premium value from "guber peas," "Bremen Geese," and "brogan shoes" at two dollars and a half, through "water and oil painting" and "negro jeans" at five dollars, to "best rifle," "most graceful riding by a young Miss under twelve years of age," and "best

²Idem.

³Premium List of the Second Annual Fair of the Tippah County Agricultural Society to Be Held at Ripley, October 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 1860 (Ripley, 1860), 1-6.

yield for one acre of oats" at ten dollars.⁴

For the best managed farm the premium was twenty-five dollars. Listed first in the program, this item had the place of honor. The chairman of the committee of judges was the Honorable James Rogan.⁵

Not alone in his family did Judge Rogan serve in a judge's capacity. His son, Lafayette, together with the latter's mother-in-law, Mrs. Daniel Hunt, wife of the probate clerk, was called upon to judge the manufactured goods. A section of the categories follows:

Best hat made for gentleman	5.00
Best half dozen wool hats for Negroes	5.00
Best suit of clothes made by tailor	10.00
Best vest made by a lady	2.50
Fine shirt made by Girl under 12	5.00 ⁶

The judges of "Fruits and Wines" included Mrs. Orlando Davis, chairman, and Miss "Cattie" Rogan. Even though the premiums in this class were in the lower brackets, it is noticeable that only the wines, of all local products, had to be accompanied by a "Receit for Making" in order to be eligible for a prize.⁷

In the "yield per acre" division nothing less than sixty-five bushels of corn per acre was eligible for consideration, and for cotton nothing less than twenty-five hundred pounds was admissible to the list. In days before fertilizers and machines, before insecticides and other chemical aids, the suggestion of average yield per acre contained in the

⁴Ibid., 1, passim.

⁵Ibid., 1.

⁶Ibid., 2.

⁷Ibid., 7.

list is exceptionally high, lending strength to doubts concerning later theories that before the Civil War slaves had already ceased to be economically advantageous. With the price of cotton and corn high, a man like Rogan, with from ten to twenty slaves, could expect not only to meet expenses, but to have a surplus as well.

The admission fees give some indication of the social strata in the county. "Officers of the Mechanical and Agricultural Associations," as well as clergymen, members of the press, and widows and orphans under twelve, were admitted free. Others paid varying fees:

Footman	50 cents
Man and horse	75 cents
Single buggy	50 cents
Additional passengers	50 cents
Double buggy	75 cents
Additional passengers	50 cents
Carriages	\$1.00 with
Additional passengers	50 cents
Children under twelve and servants	25 cents ⁸

While the committee was happy to inform the public that the Ripley Brass band would "be at the Stand and they who wished to be wafted away into Music's Eden Bower, could there revel amidst its charms so sweet and feast upon its strains," there were within the bulletin overtones of the ominous. For instance, "Section 20 -- Fire Arms" encouraged individual and small industry production of good weapons. Awards went also to "Mechanic Arts" and "Agricultural Implements of Local Manufacture." Spinning and weaving commanded higher premiums than did embroidery and lacemaking -- usually the reverse being true.⁹

⁸Ibid., 12.

⁹Ibid., 6.

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But the highest honors and greatest rewards were set apart for entries in "Section 14 -- Military," in which category a gold medal and a prize of thirty dollars were awarded for the best uniformed and drilled voluntary military company.¹⁰ The list of judges, eight in number, itself might have proved a warning to those discounting the martial spirit of the South as being a figment of a fire-eater's imagination. Four of the judges were colonels, four majors, one being a young doctor. Judges having been prohibited from officiating in any category over which they had jurisdiction, the number of military titles outside the volunteer companies was indeed imposing. In a county having slightly over seventeen thousand residents, free and slave, the fact that there were nineteen judges with military rank, none below the rank of captain, demonstrates the regard with which those who commonly wore titles were held in this somewhat new, hill-country section. One general was among the officers on this occasion, General Falkner, whose talents were enlisted for determining winners in the "Horsemanship Division."¹¹

On the final day of the fair a masquerade ball was held. General Falkner was grand master and judge of this event. Although the winners have long since been forgotten, the ball was so successful that it set off a whole chain reaction of masked balls, which then smoldered unforgotten until after the war, when once again the aging belles had beaux for whom to beautify themselves.¹² On no one was the impact more

¹⁰Ibid., 4.

¹¹Ibid., 9.

¹²Idem; conversation with Mrs. John Walker, Ripley, Mississippi, April 6, 1931.

conclusive than on that romantic grand master, William Falkner, who after the war wrote his famous novel, The White Rose of Memphis, around the theme of a masquerade on a boat.¹³

Such marchings and displays of military splendor must also have left an impact on other segments of Ripley's population. When the national election was over and secession had become a reality, recruiting was not difficult in Tippah County. Those like James Rogan who opposed secession¹⁴ were overpowered by the exciting forces they could not control. In his own family Rogan was overwhelmed, for even though it is not known that any son of his favored secession or war and indications seem to exist that at least James and Lafayette may not have supported secession, at least the personal interests of the young people were intimately associated with those who felt their sacred call to duty in the South's service.

However, it was Catherine Rogan who was most intimately concerned. With Company B, the O'Connor Rifles, of the Second Mississippi Infantry Regiment, was David W. Humphries, who was commissioned on February 4, 1861, by Governor Pettus as Second Lieutenant of his company.¹⁵

¹³William C. Falkner, The White Rose of Memphis (Philadelphia, 1881).

¹⁴William Richards of Washington, D. C., to James Rogan, April 12, 1873; Orlando Davis to J. L. Alcorn, August 28, 1872; J. L. Alcorn to "Whom It May Concern," January 22, 1873, Rogan Papers; Rogan, "My Life," 14 et seq.

¹⁵Rowland, Official and Statistical Register, 1908, 426-427.

For more than six years Catherine's engagement to this young man had been extended. Just at the time when her father retired and could relieve her of duties at home, when Lafayette and her younger sister were safely married, and when even Sally, growing up, had the advantage of Mrs. Buchanan's care at school, and when Leonidas was venturing forth into independence, the sudden and repeated call for troops intervened. No longer young and ardent like Margaret, it seemed only sensible for Catherine and David to wait a while longer.¹⁶ According to enlistments, there would be only one more year's delay, for these were twelve-month troops.

In a flurry of activity, the ladies of Ripley began the outfitting of the members of the local volunteer companies -- Company B, the O'Connor Rifles; Company D, the Joe Matthews Rifles; Company F, the Magnolia Rifles. On three days' notice uniforms had to be made, as well as blankets and quilts and even tents. In that short time the Ripley women made all the tents for the outfit. Catherine herself made three tents in three days. Apparently undeterred by what her father considered the "wicked rebellion," Catherine gave what aid and comfort she could to the Southern cause, and to her it was only one of the grim realities that David Humphries was to the United States "the enemy."¹⁷ From so proper and heretofore amenable a source as his "homekeeping daughter," such enthusiasm for a state of events he deplored must have been a source of regret to James, but in all his papers there is a complete absence of

¹⁶Markell, Diary, I, May 29, 1861.

¹⁷Ibid., addenda, 8.

condemnation of any person and only admiration for Catherine.

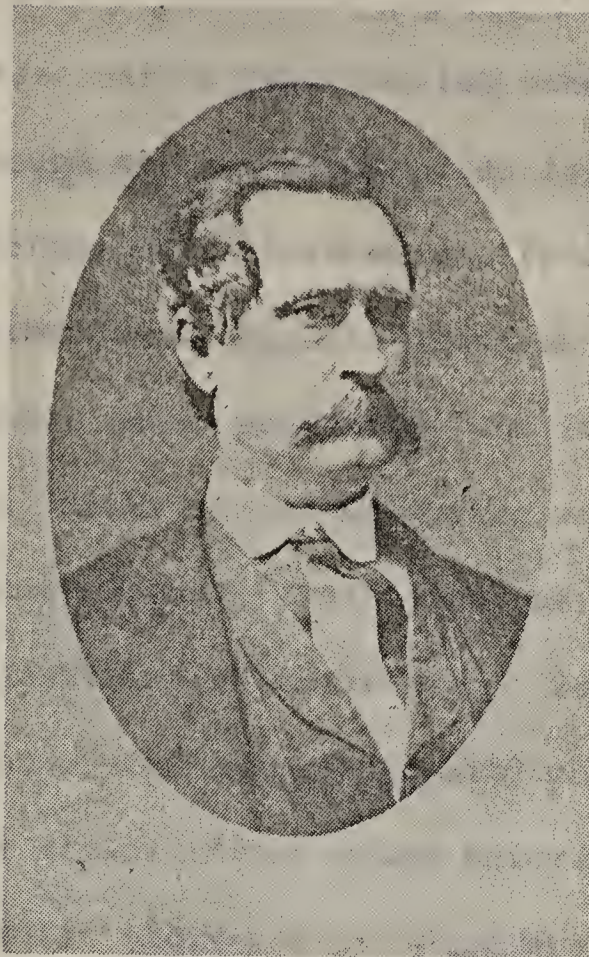
Leonidas also had his problems. Still a minor and under his father's control, he watched his friends prepare for departure. One of these was Walton Rutledge, son of Mrs. Buchanan, just out of the Ripley boys' school and ready for the university. When the university closed and a large part of the students formed their own military companies, Walton volunteered and joined the Magnolia Rifles, whose captain was W. C. Falkner, husband of his mother's sister.¹⁸ Lafayette's brother-in-law, Dr. J. Newton Hunt, went into the O'Connor Rifles, and far away in Texas John volunteered. Richard, in Alabama, enlisted with Colonel Forney in the Tenth Alabama Regiment in which he was made captain. The pressures of common interest and common blood were building up for the two brothers still in Ripley under James' guidance.¹⁹

In East Tennessee John Netherland, who had campaigned so ardently against Isham Harris for governor and lost the election by a very slight margin, grew strangely reticent after Tennessee seceded. James W., the oldest of Rogan's sons, like his uncle found his sympathies with his brothers and the place of his birth. Political philosophy was subjected to a shifting of emphasis.²⁰ In Tennessee as in other border areas, the secession of Virginia, the birthplace of many who pioneered in

¹⁸Conversation with Mrs. E. M. Owen, New Albany, Mississippi, January 11, 1961.

¹⁹Rogan, "Family Record," 2; Rogan, "My Life," 42; Deposition of W. T. Stricklin, Ripley, Mississippi, 1871, Rogan Papers.

²⁰Rogan, "Biography."



James W. Rogan



Richard Rogan



Sara Rogan Rutledge

the newer states, gave a tremendous impetus to Southern sympathy. Yet in all East Tennessee only a few counties voted to secede and join the Confederacy.²¹ Though not compelled to do so, James W. Rogan became a member of a Confederate unit which evidently was never sent to duty.²²

A number of Daniel Rogan's grandsons entered the Confederate units. Among them was Amos' son, Amos, who failed to survive the first Battle of Manassas. Leonidas and Lafayette waited, perhaps to please their father.²³ James Rogan's family was one which felt strains of conscience as well as those of conviction. For James himself there was the added obligation of the oath of loyalty which he had taken in Ashville as postmaster almost thirty years before.²⁴ Gratitude for a happy life and the particular incidents of which his life had been composed arose from two sources -- his faith in God and his love of country. Of the approach of war, he wrote: "I continued my farming operations with but little hindrance up to the beginning of the Rebellion, that iniquitous War, called the Civil War."²⁵

²¹W. G. Brownlow, Sketches of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of Secession, with a Narrative of Personal Adventures Among the Rebels (Philadelphia, 1862), 221-222.

²²Conversation with Prentiss Price, August 30, 1960; Rogan, "My Life," 35.

²³Lafayette Rogan, "A Confederate Prisoner at Rock Island, The Diary of Lafayette Rogan," John H. Hauberg, ed., Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, XXXIV (1941), 26-49, passim.

²⁴Rogan, "My Life," 44.

²⁵Ibid., 35.

Company B, including David Humphries and the Reverend W. A. Gray, Presbyterian minister at Ripley for twenty years, was mustered into the Army of Mississippi on March 4, 1861. It assembled at Ripley on April 30 for ceremonies during which Mrs. C. A. Green presented to the men their company flag. Then the men marched to Saulsbury, Tennessee and boarded the train for Corinth.²⁶

Company D was mustered into the state army on March 9 from the collection point at Toomb's Store but left apparently only after the Beck Rifles were added to the Joe Matthews Rifles to fill the complement.²⁷

In general, however, it was the splendor of Captin W. C. Falkner at the head of the Magnolia Rifles, mustered into state service on March 4, after collecting at Ripley, at which place Mrs. W. R. Cole presented the company with a flag the Ripley ladies had devised, that finally swept Ripley into fervid war fever. The Captain at the head of his men marched off to Corinth, where on May 1, Falkner's and other northeast Mississippi companies became the Second Mississippi Infantry Regiment, Confederate States of America.²⁸ In the election of officers on May 3, Falkner was chosen Colonel of the Regiment and Walton Rutledge, Sergeant-Major in charge of the muster roll, a rank and position he was to hold until the end.²⁹ On May 9, the Second Mississippi arrived at

²⁶Rowland, Official and Statistical Register, 1908, 427.

²⁷Idem.

²⁸Ibid., 426, 428-429.

²⁹Ibid., 426; Brown, loc. cit., 372.

Lynchburg where the next day it was mustered into the Confederate army for twelve months. The next stop for this unit was Harpers Ferry, at which point it arrived on May 21.³⁰

On May 23 the Inspector-General gave a pessimistic report of the regiment which the ladies of Ripley and Mississippi had worked very diligently to clothe and otherwise outfit. In his summary, he wrote:

The two regiments from Mississippi have with them their tents and camp equipage but are not satisfied with their arms, which are chiefly of the old flint-lock musket changed into percussion. As usual with troops with this description, they all want rifles.³¹

They had heard, no doubt, how Jefferson Davis had demanded rifles for his men in the war with Mexico and succeeded in getting them, giving them their long-time name, Davis rifles. When Reuben Davis organized the Second Mississippi Regiment for that war, his unit also obtained these superior weapons.³² Mississippi troops expected rifles. In the way of clothing, the Inspector-General added: "Almost every necessary is wanting. They seem to have come away from home without making proper preparation in this respect."³³ However, the complaints against the regiment were minor, and proved to be the sole instance of censure against it.

³⁰Rowland, Official and Statistical Register, 1908, 429; Muster Rolls, Company B, Second Mississippi Regiment, Infantry, C.S.A., in the possession of the author.

³¹Rowland, Official and Statistical Register, 1908, 429.

³²Ibid., 416.

³³Ibid., 430.

There were some who could find no fault with the troops at Harpers Ferry, albeit they beheld them with untrained eyes. In nearby Frederick, Maryland, lived James Rogan's niece, the daughter of Rebecca and George Thomas, who was the wife of a well-to-do merchant, Frederick Markell. When Southern troops arrived at Harpers Ferry, she visited both the Mississippi and Alabama camps, looking for cousins, especially seeking her cousin Dick, her Uncle James' third son. Setting out with several friends and her husband on May 23, for Harpers Ferry, she and the party were overtaken by a soldier who invited them to visit his camp, which proved to be that of the Second Mississippi. After introductions, the soldier, Commissary J. E. Rogers of Ripley, on discovering Mrs. Markell's identity, exclaimed,

"Judge Rogan...Oh! he lives near our place. We all know him. He is one of our first men. No one in the state stands higher than Judge Rogan....little did I expect to meet a relative of his up here!" I introduced Fred and we walked around the camp. This Reg't. consists of young men of the highest standing and responsibility. "There," said he, "is a man trying to slice ham who is worth \$50,000 and is one of the poorest in the company."³⁴ He called to a young man who was passing, and said, "Let me introduce you to Judge Rogan's niece."

"Judge Rogan's niece," said Dr. Hunt in astonishment" (for it was he). "Why, I have a sister married to Lafayette Rogan, your cousin, so we are kinfolks, not very near it is true, but near enough to claim a thousand miles from home."

The doctor spoke in highest terms of Uncle James and my cousins and said Cousin Richard was among the Alabama troops, but I could not find him. As

³⁴A close study of the U. S. Census of 1860 hardly confirms the veracity of this statement. Commissary Rogers was evidently enjoying the occasion when he played guide to the decidedly sympathetic Markells. Microfilm MSS, 1860 Census Population Schedules, Mississippi, Tippah County, 445 et seq.

a fine looking elderly man approached, he called out, "Here, Parson Gray, is a niece of your old friend Judge Rogan." The parson seized my hand and shook it cordially. "Is it possible?" he exclaimed, looking earnestly into my eyes, "Little did I dream of meeting a relative of my good old elder and dearest friend. Judge Rogan is my nearest neighbor and truly a pious and estimable Christian gentleman." Parson Gray is very wealthy and childless.... "Here, Major," called Lieut. Rogers to a fine looking young officer who approached and was introduced as Major David Humphreys, the affianced husband of Uncle's second daughter, my cousin Kate. The Major's parting was cordial. "Your cousin's name is Catherine Crawford for her grandma," said Parson Gray.³⁵

The Markells walked through the camp to Falkner's tent where the Colonel ordered the "silver" from the table and had it replaced by china, the tin having been regularly used. Having lost her mother when she was a very small child, even these remote contacts with her maternal relatives impressed Sue Markell. The flattering attention of the Southerners won her sympathy. At the Alabama camp while Sue sought for her Cousin Richard, she saw the beautiful white silk flag which Mrs. Todd, President Lincoln's sister-in-law, had presented to the company.³⁶

A week later, accompanied by about thirty of Frederick's leading citizens, Sue Markell returned to look for Richard and to visit the Ripley companies. She wrote:

Met Colonel Falkner. He wore the hat, used during the Mexican War, with two bullet holes in the brim. He, with 16 men, bearing private

³⁵Markell, Diary, I, March 23, 1861.

³⁶Idem.

despatches for Jeff. Davis cut their way through 400 guerillas. He has fought four duels. Has had three fingers shot off, a lance wound in the side, a pistol ball in his leg, and a fractured arm.... The Frederick ladies presented them with two handsomely iced cakes, several lbs. of fresh butter, ginger snaps, and light bread... coffee, sugar, butter, tongue, ham, potatoes, and chicken /and two bushels of strawberries/. Parson Gray walked out with me to see the drill...given partly in our honor. A negro boy belonging to him /one of the two he took with him to Virginia/ danced all the time while beating a drum. A short fat fellow barefooted, in shirt and pants keeping time to the immense drum hung by a strap from his neck, he was a funny sight.³⁷

Many of the young men of Frederick marched off to join the Confederate forces. In the Markell household Fred's sympathies were with the Southern Cause. From his wife's diary it appears that Fred was often an information bearer and courier. Before each of the major battles he was away from home, often searching for Sue's cousin Dick. At intervals during the war he was detained or arrested, once for a period of six months. The Markells maintained their contacts with the Mississippi troops after the first meeting at Harpers Ferry as long as Fred was free to travel and Sue was able to write.³⁸

Like all the diary-keeping Rogans, Sue Markell also wrote letters, and, after the incidents at Harpers Ferry, she began a correspondence with her "Cousin Kate" in Ripley, where James was beginning to find operations on the farm more difficult. He began to patronize a town blacksmith for repairs and parts for his farming equipment, in two

³⁷Ibid., May 29, 1861.

³⁸Ibid., July 13, 1861, passim.

years' time running up a bill for more than one hundred and eighteen dollars,³⁹ a sum which he paid in full.

At the first Battle of Bull Run, Colonel Falkner took over the command of the fallen General B. E. Bee and with the Second Mississippi and some Alabama troops held out until relieved by General J. E. Johnston. Falkner's ambition rose.⁴⁰ The men of the Second Mississippi, who suffered greatly in this first real test of strength, came to the conclusion that their Colonel had needlessly endangered them in order to enhance himself in the eyes of his superiors.⁴¹ On April 23, 1862, Captain John M. Stone replaced Falkner who, with some of his followers whose enlistments had terminated, returned to Ripley. Among the latter was Lieutenant Abbott C. Rucker. Already at home earlier in the year, Rucker had begun a recruiting campaign which resulted in the formation of Company B, Thirty-Fourth Mississippi Regiment, Infantry. Among those who enlisted were Lafayette and Leonidas Rogan. This company became a part of the famed Walthall Brigade which ranged far and wide in the war in the West.⁴²

³⁹"James Rogan -- due to S. R. Spight," May, 1862, Rogan Papers.

⁴⁰Brown, loc. cit., 373; Bondurant, loc. cit., 117-118.

⁴¹Conversation with Dr. John Murry and Mrs. E. M. Owen, April 6, 1931. "Anticipating that he might fail of re-election, Falkner attempted to forestall possible defeat by obtaining an appointment as brigadier general and made a trip to Mississippi in an unsuccessful pursuit of that objective." Brown, loc. cit., 373.

⁴²James Rogan to R. P. Lowe, September 7, 1872, Rogan Papers; Rowland, Official and Statistical Register, 1908, 431; Service Records of Lafayette and Leonidas Rogan, National Archives.

Also in the same company was George Whitfield Brooks, Margaret's husband.⁴³ By this time Margaret and Lafayette each had a child.

For James Rogan the year 1862 was the beginning of a long and tragic era. Leonidas enlisted on the day that Fort Donelson fell. The war was coming nearer. Left in the old home were James, Catherine, Margaret, Margaret's child, and Sally, just past twelve. At the Battle of Shiloh, George Brooks was severely wounded.⁴⁴ Soon after that date troops from both sides began to pass through Ripley. Rogan and Ripley were soon to know the meaning of war. On June 30, 1862, the first Union troops entered Ripley. Henceforth West Tennessee and North Mississippi were overrun by Union and Confederate armies and controlled by neither.⁴⁵ The raid of June 30 was an attempt by the Federal forces to capture Colonel Falkner, who by that time was busily engaged in recruiting the unit that would be the First Mississippi Partisan Rangers. The search for this man and his gadfly outfit was the indirect cause of much of James Rogan's suffering.⁴⁶ The pursuit of Falkner invariably led Federal troops to Rogan's farm. On July 1 a Union officer, after a chase in which Falkner escaped again, commandeered a wagon, horses, and driver from Rogan to haul commissary supplies taken from the Rogan farm from Ripley to Corinth. Also, an officer rode off on a fine brood mare which

⁴³Rogan, "My Life," 42-43; Rogan, "Family Record," 3, 5.

⁴⁴ Rogan, "Biography."

⁴⁵Brown, loc. cit., 372.

⁴⁶William Richards to James Rogan, October 7, 1872, Rogan Papers.

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Rogan valued at more than one hundred and fifty dollars.⁴⁷

On the same day that Rogan received a message that George Brooks had recovered from wounds received at Shiloh, Federal troops again camped on his farm.⁴⁸ On July 28, General Philip Sheridan, commanding the Union outpost at Rienzi, sent Colonel A. L. Lee with the Seventh Kansas Cavalry and Colonel Edward Hatch with the Second Iowa to break up the camp of Falkner's Partisans. Falkner under great difficulty had brought his unit up to six hundred and managed to muster his men into Confederate service on August 1, 1862. The two Union regiments surrounded the town at 8 a.m., July 28.⁴⁹ The Seventh Kansas, staying in town to capture Falkner if he returned, camped at the farm of James Rogan long enough to trample the place and eat what was available from garden, vineyard, and orchard. When the troops departed, they took, not the fox Falkner, but James Rogan's fine sorrel horse worth one hundred and sixty dollars.⁵⁰

From that date whenever Falkner's Partisans moved, the town of Ripley was overrun by Union elements sent to surprise him on return or to overtake him before he could achieve his assigned objective. Rogan's little farm, lying at the crossroads from Corinth to Holly Springs, from

⁴⁷"The United States government -- due to James Rogan," Claim No. 16,866 (claim of James Rogan for damages against the Federal government), July 28, 1862, Rogan Papers.

⁴⁸Idem; Rogan, "My Life," 41.

⁴⁹Brown, loc. cit., 375.

⁵⁰"Rogan Claim," July 29, 1862, Rogan Papers.

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the Tennessee line to Pontotoc and Grenada afforded an excellent site for bivouac.⁵¹

The eighth of October proved an especially damaging day for the aging James. In Kentucky, General Braxton Bragg was preparing for an engagement in which the decisive force opposing him would be General Philip Sheridan and his cavalry. Sheridan had lately been raised to the rank of general officer after his repulse of Falkner's attack on his position at Rienzi, Mississippi. The northeast Mississippi theatre of operations remained under the direction of General William S. Rosecrans, who in September defeated General Sterling Price at Iuka and on October 3-4 defeated the combined forces of Price and General Earl Van Dorn. Pursuing the Southern generals, Rosecrans' forces passed through Ripley again.⁵²

A graphic picture of the turmoil in Ripley was given by Mrs. Roxana E. Cole of Ripley in a letter to a cousin.⁵³ The armies of Price and Van Dorn formed a junction at Ripley on September 28, making a force of 25,000 to 30,000 men lying encamped about the town for two days. Mrs. Cole reported that as soon as the troops arrived, they began

sweeping everything that was to eat, that could be bought for love or money; cornfields and cribs, potato patches and gardens, meat houses and pantries suffered.... (We little thought that worse was in store for us).

⁵¹Deposition of W. T. Stricklin, Rogan Papers.

⁵²Brown, loc. cit., 378-379.

⁵³Charles M. Cole, "Overwhelmed in War's Red Tide," The Progressive Farmer, December 24, 1927, 8, 16.

They commenced fighting at Corinth on Friday...and on Sunday...the heavy boom of countless cannon reached our ears and aching hearts.... Sunday night brought the fearful certainty of our defeat, when we were awakened at 1 o'clock by the heavy tread of cavalry and baggage wagons on their retreat. By morning the town was full of soldiers, some wounded, all famished, and begging for something to eat, if but a piece of bread, and alas, all flying before the pursuing enemy.

Both in advance and in retreat Van Dorn made the Cole house his headquarters. In retreat the army left public buildings and private homes full of the dying and wounded without adequate medical provisions. Then "the ruffians entered...evidently...to pillage.... We soon found out the difference between a tired and famished friendly army, and a tired, famished, infuriated foe."⁵⁴ The swaggering enemy forced Mrs. Cole and the servant to cook for them until the two women could stand no longer. The next day Mrs. Cole tried to help the wounded and naked. In one hospital the "two rooms were crowded, the bare, hard, blood-stained floor was so nearly covered that I could scarcely pass between their miserable pallets."⁵⁵

Some Rebels lingered. Others died and were buried by the captors, unshrouded and uncoffined in one grave. After the worst passed there were few times when the town was free of armies, pillaging and abusing the populace, and universal dilapidation settled upon everything that met the eye.⁵⁶

⁵⁴Idem.

⁵⁵Idem.

⁵⁶Idem.

On his edge of town James Rogan did not have to wait long for his share of the war. Part of the Confederate troops pausing on his place served but to lead the old familiar Union forces to his meadows and orchards. James wrote, "They took over my house and my parlor for headquarters."⁵⁷ When the troops left, James Rogan and his family were thousands of dollars poorer in earthly wealth and decidedly richer in their knowledge of human nature than they had been before. James' itemized estimate of the losses was four thousand, six hundred and ninety dollars, "taken by an officer on the order of General Rosecrans" and by unrestrained troops. A small selection from his list of losses on that day follows:

Oct. 7 & 8		
4 mules, 1 horse, harness, and wagon and every other equipment all in good order	1200.00	
200 lbs. salt	10.00	
7 pork hogs @ 15¢	157.00	
...wagon and saddle	50.00	
2 doz. fine Ivory handled knives & <u>/silver/</u> forks (new)	40.00	
6 large silver spoons and 14 tea spoons	50.00	
1 gold pencil	5.00	
4 cloth dress coats	40.00	⁵⁸

The list is long: gold earrings, silver, sleeve buttons, overcoats, hose, cravats, sheets, satin vests, razors, infants' clothes, family Bibles, linen, beads, towels. There was nothing -- needles and pins, sheets, honey in hive and comb, canned fruit, fodder -- that the thorough army of Rosecrans overlooked. In addition, the orchard and garden crops, hay, corn, and barnyard animals were taken in amounts

⁵⁷"Rogan Claim," October 7-8, 1862, Rogan Papers.

⁵⁸Idem.

impossible to estimate and had to be written off for purposes of claims.

But the worst blow was yet in store for the Rogans. A few days later a messenger filtered through enemy lines to Ripley, bringing telegrams received at Okolona, Mississippi. A telegram to Rogan read "Leonidas was killed today at Perryville." The message also conveyed the news that George Brooks was wounded, perhaps not dangerously, and was a prisoner of war.⁵⁹

Still Rogan was not free of Rosecrans and Union depredations. A few days later elements of the general's army were again in Ripley. As a Union sympathizer explained the occasion to a federal investigator, in later years,

I knew once that part of General Rosecranz' army from Rienzi was in Ripley, that they got word the Rebels were coming to cut them off by coming in between them and Rienzi; and they started off and took several teams and wagons...leaving word for the others to come to Rienzi and get them. Among the other teams taken was mine, Gossett's, Boyd's, and Rogan's team. These men then went on to Rienzi to get their teams before I did, but they would not take the oath... and the U.S. soldiers sent them on to Corinth and kept them /in the compound/ some days /to try to persuade them/ to take the oath before they could get their teams back. I went there to Rienzi...and had no trouble...the Q.M. of the 46th Ill. turned it over to me and even had it glossed up and guarded out of the U.S. lines. I was never better treated in my life. If /Rogan/ had not been /stubborn/ he would not have been treated like he was.⁶⁰

⁵⁹Lafayette Rogan to James Rogan, October 8, 1862, Rogan Papers.

⁶⁰Deposition of Thomas Maddox, Ripley, Mississippi, September 9, 1872, Rogan Papers.

As Rogan explained the situation, "I took the oath of loyalty to the United States twenty-five years ago when I became postmaster and I have never violated it."⁶¹

Plunder became common on the Rogan farm and within the household. Rogan went into town only when necessity demanded it. He was afraid to leave his three daughters alone because some of the Negroes had become restive. Also, the danger from bummers, bushwhackers, and scouting parties had multiplied. Everyone, however, tried to get to town for the special editions of the paper, which after a major engagement carried lists of casualties.⁶² After a raid the streets were filled with indignant citizens -- old men, disabled men, and four or five loudmouthed Unionists bent on increasing their unpopularity.⁶³

The situation in Virginia, where the Second and Eleventh Mississippi regiments formed the advance of Stonewall Jackson's army, was fluid and bloody. From the Seven Days' Battle to Cold Harbor, the Ripley companies were in the thick of the fighting. After Second Bull Run, Colonel Work of the first Texas Regiment told of the Second Mississippi, Colonel Stone commanding, advancing "'with a yell,' which was taken up by the other regiments...and continued until the woods resounded."⁶⁴

In the Maryland campaign in 1862 Hood's Texans and the Missis-

⁶¹James Rogan to R. P. Lowe, September 7, 1872, Rogan Papers.

⁶²Ripley Advertiser, July 31, 1861.

⁶³Deposition of Thomas Maddox, Ripley, Mississippi, January 7, 1873, Rogan Papers. Mr. Maddox told of his glee after Yankee victories.

⁶⁴Rowland, Official and Statistical Register, 1908, 431-432.

sippians joined in a bayonet charge that secured Boonsboro Gap, and after three days without food, except for green corn and one half ration of beef per day, arose again to repulse attacks. General Hood said that the hardest fighting to that date took place in front of the Dunkard Church, which the Second Mississippi held, and Colonel R. R. Dawes of the Sixth Wisconsin wrote to Colonel Stone in 1876, when the former commander of the Second became the governor of Mississippi after the breakdown of Reconstruction, "We fought the Second Mississippi in the corn field in front of the Dunker Church at Antietam. They drove us and we barely saved by hand a battery of six...Howitzers...."

To read the official reports of the Second Mississippi in the Maryland campaign is to take a lesson in gallantry. Stone was seriously wounded. Catherine Rogan's "affianced husband," David Humphries -- by then Lieutenant-Colonel -- and all other field officers were likewise wounded.⁶⁶

The Second Mississippi saw other action in this campaign which would have lent variety to the pages of the official records. James Rogan's niece, Sue Markell, recorded in early September that there were rumors of approaching Confederate troops, that the Federals were "burning their stores and skedaddling." From the roof of their house, on the Captain's walk, the Markells watched the sick and the wounded of the Union army straggling toward Pennsylvania. "Was greatly excited," Sue recorded. On September 6 two Confederate cavalymen dashed into

⁶⁵Ibid., 432-433.

⁶⁶Ibid., 433.

town, the first Greycoats the town had seen. Captain Kyd Douglass and David Humphries called during the evening and Sue inquired about Richard Rogan. On the eighth General Barksdale of Mississippi and his staff dined with the Markells. So many soldiers came into town and tied their horses to the Markells' fence that the cavalry animals were soon hitched three deep all around the block that the Markell yard occupied. Thinking the place a hotel from its size, more than three hundred of the Confederate soldiers came in, ordering meals, which Mrs. Markell and many of the young girls in the town served to them. From innumerable visitors she asked about her cousin. While she served tea privately to Generals McLaws and Kershaw and their staffs, Richard Rogan came in to inquire about her, unaware until then that he was in her home. On the ninth, Sue and friends visited the Southern camp, where she met Generals Lee and Jackson, Pryor and Stewart, but her efforts to meet Richard Rogan proved fruitless. David Humphries, however, with Mr. Gray called upon her and informed her that Richard had also been in while she was at the camp. Dr. Hunt and David tried to find him and bring him back. Mrs. Markell, on the evening of the twelfth, entertained "Jeb Stuart, Fitz Lee, Wade Hampton and all their aides." Although Stuart had warning of approaching Union forces, he stayed so late while granting a parole to a captured Yankee that the approaching Union army overtook him, and a battle began on Patrick Street, Frederick. During the subsequent exchange of fire a part of the Markell porch was shot away.⁶⁷

⁶⁷Markell, Diary, I, September 5-12, 1862.

It was several days later, before the Dunkard Church, that Humphries was wounded, though not badly enough to be left behind when the army moved back into Virginia. In an Evangeline-like search, Sue Markell went slowly through all the emergency hospitals where Confederates lay, fearfully hunting, as she said, "for Uncle's son and my cousin." Then she wrote to her cousin Catherine concerning recent events.⁶⁸

In one way or another Rogan heard from his sons, but at home his worries multiplied for the safety and health of his daughters. After General Van Dorn's raid on and destruction of General Grant's supply depot at Holly Springs, the Federal troops again rode into Ripley pursuing the Confederate general. On the orders of a lieutenant a company seized food and forage, sadly depleted already, from Rogan.⁶⁹ It was Christmas and all the meagre gifts vanished with the army. Every yard of cloth, every infant's garment, all warm clothes, all food in house and smokehouse and cellar was ruthlessly taken away. In proportion Grant had lost no more from Confederate action than did Rogan five days after the Van Dorn raid. On the same day Margaret received a message from her husband's relatives in Attalaville telling her they had brought George home after the battle of Perryville (where he had been wounded). On December 21, he had died of his wounds. Two days earlier Margaret's son had been born. On the day after Christmas James heard that his son John had died of wounds on December 20 in Little Rock, Arkansas. It was

⁶⁸Ibid., September 16-31, 1862.

⁶⁹"Rogan Claim," December 25, 1862, Rogan Papers.

a memorable Christmas for the Rogan family.⁷⁰

The memory of the privations at home were still fresh when James wrote, "During this time [1862-1865] by using a little deception and strategy enough was made and gathered up, sometimes of the leavings of army camps, to be saved from suffering much."⁷¹

The raids continued, Colonel Prince's taking place on March 23, 1863. At the same time James received a final statement of Leonidas' account with the Confederate army -- a "Statement of Pay Due Deceased Soldier." Although no accumulated pay accompanied the notice, at least Leonidas had incurred no debts for his father to pay.⁷² Among Leonidas' few possessions which Lafayette returned to his father was the silver and ivory handled dirk which Leonidas had taken in battle and which Lafayette had in turn taken from his chest. The scabbard, which had been wrenched from its belt ring, lay beside his body when Lafayette visited the scene. From the blade the blood had never been removed. Rogan was content to leave it as it was.⁷³

Colonel Grierson on his raid south stopped at the Rogan farm. When he left, he had with him horses and provisions and corn; and on April 30, when Colonel Edward Hatch, remembering evidently his previous

⁷⁰Rogan, "My Life," 42-43.

⁷¹Ibid., 36.

⁷²"Statement of Pay Due Deceased Soldier," Dalton, Georgia, March 17, 1862, Rogan Papers.

⁷³Conversation with Mrs. E. M. Owen, New Albany, Mississippi, December 23, 1862, in whose possession is the weapon.

success, set up headquarters again in Rogan's parlor, besides the food for his men and animals, the quilts, the clothing, the trinkets, he took all the corn in the barns and cribs and a fine sorrel brood mare, a black stallion, a bay horse, and a yellow horse. The meat in the storehouses vanished. Lafayette's fine cellars were again emptied.⁷⁴

When the Fourth of July came, even though few in Ripley had planned to celebrate the occasion, there was gloomy news of the fall of Vicksburg and the defeat at Gettysburg. In Frederick, Sue Markell hopelessly sought Richard Rogan as the troops passed going north, but despaired when she could not find him or any of the Ripley friends.⁷⁵ By July 3, only "sixty muskets" of the Second Mississippi, which as an advance unit had early contacted the Federal troops, remained to be added to Heth's division for the final bloody charge. Of these sixty all but one were killed, wounded, or captured.⁷⁶ Walton Rutledge was one Ripley soldier who survived the battle unharmed. As Sue Markell heard in a letter from her Cousin Kate, Lieutenant-Colonel Humphries was mortally wounded in this engagement.⁷⁷

While Rogan's family gave and received sympathy, Mrs. Buchanan prayed almost apologetically for the safety of her son, Leonidas' friend. While there were so many deaths and so much suffering, it seemed selfish

⁷⁴"Rogan Claim," April 30, 1863, Rogan Papers.

⁷⁵Markell, Diary, I, July 2, 1863.

⁷⁶Rowland, Official and Statistical Register, 1908, 434.

⁷⁷Idem; Markell, Diary, I, August 1, 1863.

to her to ask especially for her own son's safekeeping; so she simply, "like Hannah, committed her son to God's care."⁷⁸ On May 19, 1862, Mrs. Buchanan's husband had died as a result of an aggravation of an illness during a raid. In December, her Ripley Academy was burned by raiders.⁷⁹ Thereafter, Sally Rogan had to study when she could with Catherine and with Margaret.

During one of the raids in 1862, Mrs. Buchanan had heard that the Reverend John Miller, Presbyterian minister of Pontotoc, had been killed and left on Stricklin's hill near Rogan's farm, where the Federal troops were encamped. Because no man would dare leave his family while the town was overrun, Mrs. Buchanan with the help of only her eleven year old son, Lewis, and an aged Negro borrowed a wagon and a mule and drove to the hill where, from among the living enemy, she gathered up the body of her boyhood friend, placed it in the wagon, and drove the thirty-eight miles to return the minister to his home, traveling the entire distance through skirmishing areas and in enemy-occupied territory.⁸⁰

In the Christmas season of 1863, Rogan received word that Lafayette, still with the Walthall Brigade, after taking part in the skirmishing on Lookout Mountain, had been captured and after a time

⁷⁸Conversation with Mrs. E. M. Owen, New Albany, Mississippi, December 23, 1960.

⁷⁹Ripley Southern Sentinel, May 21, 1921.

⁸⁰Conversation with W. H. Anderson, Ripley, Mississippi, September 8, 1960; Ripley Southern Sentinel, April 15, 1928.

imprisoned at Rock Island Prison in Illinois.⁸¹ With John and Leonidas, George Brooks and David Humphries gone, and with Lafayette a prisoner, James Rogan opened his home to John's wife and Charles, his son.⁸²

Thereafter the little boy joined in the appraisal of his grandfather and of the Union troop whose heartless pillage continued during raid after raid, including visits from General Sturgis during his raid south on June 8, 1864, and again during his retreat after his defeat at Brice's Crossroads. As in all the unwelcome incursions from Union military units, there were soldiers as well as officers who demanded meals prepared in the Rogan kitchen. One such soldier under Grierson's command made hourly visits to the kitchen to demand a glass of cool buttermilk from the springhouse. "Aunt Nancy," who looked with contempt upon these intruders whose promises of liberation were predicated upon robbery, sack, and abuse of her master and his family, was forced to listen to his jokes and jibes. Continuously he told her how in the coming battle he himself was going to capture General Nathan Bedford Forrest and bring him back to her. Then for days the soldier intended to live well while she baked, boiled, and fried the cavalry commander for his meals. This was the greatest battle of Forrest's career, during which, with half Sturgis' number of men, he won every contested point. Events sent "Aunt Nancy's" old opponent back to her in a sadly spent and shabby condition. When he applied again for buttermilk, she inquired where Forrest was,

⁸¹Rogan, "My Life," 45; Rogan, "Family Record," 2.

⁸²Rogan, "My Life," 44.

because she had the fire and pot ready. "Well," he sighed, "there was a Forrest behind every tree." "I told you," Aunt Nancy answered, with justifiable superiority, "that you Yankee trash can't beat us Southern quality."⁸³ In more ways than one the army was finding it difficult to liberate those in bondage.

The Sturgis raid came at a particularly sorrowful time for James Rogan. Information was conveyed to him that his son Dick, who had been wounded at Spotsylvania, had died a few days later on May 20. Rogan had just received the letter with this message from a Richmond family, in whose home Richard died, when the raid began.⁸⁴

In East Tennessee John Netherland had remained largely silent after secession. In the Knoxville-Greenville Convention, he spoke once.⁸⁵ In the campaign of 1864 he supported General McClellan for the presidency and from that date gave his support to the Democratic cause. An old Whig and a Unionist, he gave his sympathy to his people. Of his nephews in the conflict, most had already died in the Southern army. Only James Wood of his sister Sarah's sons remained alive and at liberty. He wanted no part of the Lincoln-Johnson-Brownlow machine in Tennessee.⁸⁶

⁸³Conversation with Mrs. Charles F. Markell, Birmingham, Alabama, November 12, 1954; with Mrs. E. M. Owen and Mrs. J. B. Shannon, New Albany, Mississippi, December 26, 1951. All were granddaughters of James Rogan and remembered "Aunt Nancy," who told them the story.

⁸⁴Rogan, "Biography;" "My Life," 42.

⁸⁵Temple, op. cit., 165.

⁸⁶Idem; James W. Fertig, The Secession and Reconstruction of Tennessee (Chicago, 1898), 29.

With the war being removed from her vicinity, Sue Markell kept up her long quest for a chance to serve her uncle. Fred, her husband, his usefulness impaired by frequent arrests, returned to the routine of a business at which he became more dissatisfied daily.⁸⁷ Interest increased, however, when on December 19, 1863, a letter came from Lafayette in Rock Island Prison.⁸⁸ The following day Mrs. Markell approached a Mrs. Pettits who had a son, "a good man," living at Rock Island and asked her to "inquire if he would receive a package for Cousin Lafayette and distribute the contents."⁸⁹ She also wrote to Mr. Pettits and to Lafayette.⁹⁰ On receiving a favorable reply, she sent Lafayette fifty dollars through Mr. Pettits and the first of a series of boxes directed to her cousin and his friends.⁹¹ In return, Lafayette made jewelry -- rings, pins, earrings, and crosses -- of shells and bits of metal he found about the compound.⁹² These Mrs. Markell sold for his benefit. When she heard

⁸⁷Markell, Diary, I, October 29, 1859, passim. When the Union army was approaching, after it had reached the vicinity of Frederick City, Fred Markell disappeared, only to appear in the Confederate camp. Once in crossing the Potomac his passage was covered by the Confederates who returned the fire of Union soldiers who tried to intercept him. On another occasion he set up decoys who were mistakenly taken into custody. For Sue Markell the war appears to have been a matter of personalities. In addition for Fred, it was the matter of a cause.

⁸⁸Ibid., December 19, 1863 et seq.

⁸⁹Ibid., December 20, 1863.

⁹⁰Ibid., December 21, 1863.

⁹¹Ibid., December 23, 1863.

⁹²Ibid., June 27, 1864.

from Catherine Rogan of Richard Rogan's death, she wept.⁹³ On July 7-8, 1864, Confederates shelled the town, but none of her Mississippi friends returned.⁹⁴

Conditions in the Rock Island prison were bad and grew worse as more captured Confederates were brought in. Lafayette Rogan shared all the hardships of his friends until the administrators of the prison ordered him to work in the director's offices in an effort to expedite the handling of unfamiliar matters involving Confederate procedure.⁹⁵ Although his conscience hurt him because he was warm and had more food than other men, Lafayette tried to do his work well so that he could earn a parole or exchange.⁹⁶ On January 1 he had his first letter from his Cousin Sue, stating that the Express Company refused to carry packages for prisoners, but, on January 8, Mr. Pettits called and delivered the first box. Lafayette had, among other things, clean shirts and socks. "What a relief to feel clean and imagine one has no lice on him," he wrote.⁹⁷

In the bitter cold the men suffered from lack of blankets, the Federal guards taking even those that they had. Without enough bunks,

⁹³Ibid., February 3, 1864.

⁹⁴Ibid., July 8-9, 1864. In this contest between Early and Wallace, it was "Brad" Johnson, local Confederate officer, who shelled the town. He was Fred Markell's closest friend. Markell, Diary, I, July 10, 1864.

⁹⁵Rogan, "Rock Island Diary," loc. cit., 32.

⁹⁶Idem, et seq.

⁹⁷Ibid., 32.

the men slept in relay, bunks full, "sardine fashion, head and tails." Food was poor and insufficient. There were many deaths from pneumonia and smallpox.⁹⁸

On February 24 Lafayette wrote:

Today has been devoid of interest Home,
home sweet home -- Country and Country's
cause with the loved ones from whom I am
separated, have filled my thoughts to day.
When shall I see dear wife and boy and be-
hold my country free and independent & at
peace?⁹⁹

An unexpected visitor called on Lafayette on April 16, 1864. Judge Lowe of Iowa, a Republican whom Lafayette called "a firm friend of my father," told an incredulous Lafayette that the South would be defeated. Judge Lowe promised to work for his exchange.¹⁰⁰

Many sorrows, hardships, deaths, and much boredom marked Lafayette's days. He worked at his jewelry making and prayed daily for exchange or parole and for the Confederate cause. He had faith that all his prayers would be answered. September 30, 1864, he called the saddest day of his life -- fifteen Confederate prisoners went over to the Federals, deserting family, country, and home for a few ounces of meat.¹⁰¹ His thoughts were constantly with his young wife and baby. Seldom did a letter get through. But when he might have had freedom by taking the oath, he scorned

⁹⁸Ibid., 29.

⁹⁹Ibid., 36.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 39.

¹⁰¹Ibid., 47.

The two sides for relief, though little, however, seemed, with the relief,
and was given and finally after. There was some doubt as to the
the relief, 1860.

THE HISTORY OF THE RELIEF

There was some doubt as to the relief,
and was given and finally after. There was some doubt as to the
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the relief, 1860.

THE HISTORY OF THE RELIEF

the chance. Prayer and meditation were his greatest solace. The editor of his diary says of him that he was truly a devout man and that his religion sustained him through the long horror of prison life that did not end until two months after the end of the war.¹⁰²

The raids in Mississippi continued almost to the end, and when Lee surrendered at Appomattox, a part of the Second Mississippi Regiment surrendered with him. Others were captured with Colonel Stone at Salisbury, North Carolina,¹⁰³ where Stone made his last fight. At this point, after the surrenders but before the paroles, many from all units simply vanished into the night. Of all those so near to him, only two of this outfit returned to James Rogan and their families -- "Parson" Gray and Walton Rutledge, who had been with the army of Northern Virginia from Harpers Ferry to Appomattox without an illness and without a wound.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰²Ibid., 48.

¹⁰³Rowland, Official and Statistical Register, 1908, 436.

¹⁰⁴Conversation with Mrs. E. M. Owen, New Albany, Mississippi, December 23, 1960.

CHAPTER IX

AFTERMATH

Hostilities ended, but for James Rogan much of the misery and woe continued, diminished it is true, but never entirely abated. However, it was not his nature to be morbid, and he tried to adjust himself to the changes that had so abruptly altered his life. He was simply summing up the past for the sake of his children when he wrote:

After the close of the war, the slaves all being set at liberty, everything being in a demoralized condition, it was rather a difficult matter to know how, or determine on a plan to farm or anything else, to make a living in this new state of affairs. A few of those former helps continued on the premises to work on the shares.¹

When Lafayette came home and made a new start, he endeavored to relieve his father of certain responsibilities, but like other young men who returned to Ripley, he found that all he had left to depend on was his own character. The business district, the public buildings, many private homes had been burned or defaced. There had been few funds, little labor, and only inferior materials for making repairs in the town.² Dirt and dinginess additionally marred the once proud village, for soap was scarce and dear. The churches still gave evidence of their frequent use as hospitals or stables. The roads were rutted, bridges destroyed, streets

¹Rogan, "My Life," 36.

²Captain J. E. Rogers to his wife, Oxford, Mississippi, July, 1863, in the possession of the author. Captain Rogers was with the Confederate Army; his wife was in Ripley.

The first part of the chapter is devoted to the study of the properties of the solutions of the system of equations (10.1). It is shown that the solutions are unique and that they depend continuously on the initial conditions. The second part of the chapter is devoted to the study of the properties of the solutions of the system of equations (10.2). It is shown that the solutions are unique and that they depend continuously on the initial conditions.

Let us consider the system of equations (10.1). The first part of the chapter is devoted to the study of the properties of the solutions of the system of equations (10.1). It is shown that the solutions are unique and that they depend continuously on the initial conditions. The second part of the chapter is devoted to the study of the properties of the solutions of the system of equations (10.2). It is shown that the solutions are unique and that they depend continuously on the initial conditions.

Let us consider the system of equations (10.2). The first part of the chapter is devoted to the study of the properties of the solutions of the system of equations (10.2). It is shown that the solutions are unique and that they depend continuously on the initial conditions. The second part of the chapter is devoted to the study of the properties of the solutions of the system of equations (10.3). It is shown that the solutions are unique and that they depend continuously on the initial conditions. The third part of the chapter is devoted to the study of the properties of the solutions of the system of equations (10.4). It is shown that the solutions are unique and that they depend continuously on the initial conditions.

APPENDIX A

Let us consider the system of equations (10.5). The first part of the chapter is devoted to the study of the properties of the solutions of the system of equations (10.5). It is shown that the solutions are unique and that they depend continuously on the initial conditions. The second part of the chapter is devoted to the study of the properties of the solutions of the system of equations (10.6). It is shown that the solutions are unique and that they depend continuously on the initial conditions.

pitted with holes. Ripley was ugly.³

For Lafayette there was still a business to which he could return. People in Ripley needed everything and demands, simple in nature, had to be met. He was fortunate in that his partner was a substantial man who survived the war days and the darkest days immediately following. Lafayette's thoughts, however, were not concerned solely with economic rehabilitation. His reunion with his family had been the happiest circumstance of his life to that point. Daniel, his son whom he had not seen since his infancy, was six years old.⁴ On February 5, of the year after his return, a daughter was born to Lafayette and Ellen Jane. This child Lafayette named Sue Markell for the benefactress who had alleviated a measure of his sufferings during his bitter years of imprisonment.⁵

Again the problem of providing schooling for his children faced another Rogan. With other citizens Lafayette began a campaign to raise funds to facilitate what was to be an astonishing undertaking for so small and impoverished a community. In this endeavor Lafayette furnished zeal, imagination, and what means he had available. When the boys' school was finally a reality, it was given his name.⁶ Because Ripley replaced its school for boys before neighboring towns had been able to do likewise, boys from a large area of northeast Mississippi were sent there to study.

³Mrs. Catherine Susannah Thomas Markell, Photograph Album, Frame 74, Ripley, Mississippi, 1869, in the possession of the author.

⁴Rogan, "Family Record," 6.

⁵Idem; Markell, Diary, I, Janury 19, 1869.

⁶Conversation with Mrs. John Walker, Ripley, Mississippi, April 6, 1931. Mrs. Walker was the daughter of Captain J. E. Rogers; Owen, op. cit., IV, 1459.

Teachers were brought from points throughout the South. It was years later before a coeducational public school replaced it.⁷

But Ripley had not only the boys' school to replace. The girls' school which had enjoyed such a splendid reputation in former days had been among the first of the town's buildings to be burned during the raids on Ripley. Memories of its service lingered with local citizens, who soon initiated plans for a larger building and an expanded program. It was Colonel Falkner who gave the impetus to this project which, when completed, he named Stonewall for one whom he had admired. To Stonewall College to serve as headmistress, he and others of the town called back Mrs. Buchanan. In addition to her functions in the old Academy, which had been numerous and fruitful, her courage and devotion to her friends during the war when her every possession, her husband, and her means of livelihood had been lost, had given her prestige that made her unique in Ripley's history.⁸

Mrs. Buchanan's private affairs might not have been in such a depressed condition if it had not been for a mysterious circumstance which involved her at about the time that the Vicksburg campaign came to an end. When her brother, Pat Vance, whom she had brought up, had gone to California during the Gold Rush, he had promised his sister that he would come back when he was rich and provide for her. However, Mrs. Buchanan married a second time and became successful in her profession, making Pat's return unnecessary.

⁷Mrs. Sue Rogan Markell of Birmingham, Alabama, to the author, September 9, 1953.

⁸Conversation with W. H. Anderson of Ripley, Mississippi, September 8, 1959. This attitude still prevails in Ripley today although most of the population never knew Mrs. Buchanan.

Teachers were brought from other countries and sent to the United States.

Many of these were of the same kind as those who had been in the United States.

They were sent to the United States to be educated and to be trained.

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They were sent to the United States to be educated and to be trained.

As soon, however, as the war reached Ripley, the younger brother began to make preparations to fulfill his pledge. He converted his holdings into gold and wrote his sisters, Mrs. George Brame of Vicksburg, Mrs. William C. Falkner of Ripley, and Mrs. Buchanan, that he was returning by way of Vicksburg while that port was still open. For the purpose of transporting his gold he had had constructed a trunk with a false bottom. Each sister was to play her part in facilitating his journey and his return, for most of Mississippi above Vicksburg at this time was overrun by troops. Fighting and skirmishing were heavy. Colonel Falkner was to secure the proper papers for obtaining transportation across the river and through Confederate lines. Mrs. Brame's home would be Pat's stopping place while arrangements were completed. Mrs. Buchanan was to find lodgings for him in Ripley.⁹

Pat Vance saw his sister in Vicksburg at the time of the beginning of the siege, but he left her home with Colonel Falkner, just at what point is not clear. When Falkner returned to Ripley, he had Pat Vance's empty trunk, his watch, and a few personal effects. Falkner reported that Pat had died suddenly and mysteriously and that his possessions had vanished. Mrs. Buchanan, instead of expected succor, received a heavy blow.¹⁰ With the disasters of Vicksburg and Gettysburg and the subsequent tragic emotions which pervaded the town, Mrs. Buchanan's individual losses were accorded only a minor consideration, for unlike many other young men of

⁹Conversations with Mrs. J. B. Shannon and Mrs. E. M. Owen, New Albany, Mississippi, June, 1951. Mrs. Owen and Mrs. Shannon, granddaughters of Mrs. Buchanan and nieces of Mrs. Brame in whose possession at West Point, Mississippi, were the papers, had access to this information.

¹⁰Conversation with Mrs. John Walker, April 6, 1931. Mrs. Walker often saw the strange trunk in the Falkner household.

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the area her son had survived Heth's charge at Gettysburg.

The ending of hostilities permitted the regular, though inefficient, restoration of commerce. In ante bellum days the nearest railroad point had been Saulsbury, Tennessee, at which place the old road to the north formed an intersection with the Memphis and Charleston Railroad. As soon as Mrs. Buchanan's son, Walton Rutledge, returned to his home he acquired a hack, a number of wagons, horses, and drivers and reopened regular transportation of both freight and passengers to that point.¹¹

Meanwhile, Sarah Rogan, whose years and experiences had brought maturity, began an association with Walton which, in 1867, after his finances had become sufficient to pay off his debts and buy a lot in Ripley, culminated in their marriage.¹² Sarah then left the house of her father for a home of her own.

On the farm Catherine and Margaret with the latter's son and John's son Charles composed the remnants of James' former large family. The house, stripped of much of its furnishings, was still rather bare. James again began to construct furniture to replace what had been lost. In addition, he made a set of dining room chairs with ladder backs and cane seats for his daughter Sarah.¹³

¹¹Walton G. Rutledge, Account Book 1, in the possession of the author.

¹²Rogan, "My Life," 37; Deed Book X, Tippah County, Mississippi, 316.

¹³Conversations with Mrs. E. M. Owen, New Albany, Mississippi, extending over a period of years. One of these chairs is in the author's possession.

the area but the fact remains that it is a tragedy.

The number of people who have been killed is

estimated at 100,000. It is not known how many

refugees have been sent to other parts of the

world to the north, south, east and west.

and the fact is that the situation is very serious.

in fact the situation is such that the people are

not even allowed to move from their homes.

the fact is

that the situation is very serious and the people are

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¹Source: *Washington Post*, 1971, p. 1.

²Source: *Washington Post*, 1971, p. 1.

³Source: *Washington Post*, 1971, p. 1.

In the same period, the Reverend W. A. Gray, having lost his wife soon after his return from Virginia, began to spend increasing amounts of time with his close neighbor and friend, James Rogan. The intimacy of these two men was heightened still further when on July 8, 1868, Mr. Gray and Catherine were married.¹⁴

With only Margaret and the two small children left under his care and with his own financial condition to be considered, James took two boys from the Booneville-Iuka vicinity into his household. They had board and room from him while they attended the Ripley school.¹⁵ Although servants were scarce during these years, James had a cook by the name of Hannah Boyd, the former slave of one of his neighbors.¹⁶ "Aunt Nancy," whose husband had remained on the Rogan farm, devoted her energies to her own affairs, although she continued to render special services for her former master. For years while it was easy for the freedmen to get assistance from the authorities, this kindhearted woman shared her benefits with the impoverished Rogans.¹⁷

Victorian customs prevailed in the Rogan family. Decorum was always of paramount importance. Having a mild disposition himself, James

¹⁴James Rogan to Joseph A. Waddell, September 5, 1877, Rogan Papers.

¹⁵Markell, Diary, II, March 10, 1869.

¹⁶Idem.

¹⁷Conversation with Mrs. E. M. Owen, New Albany, Mississippi, December 23, 1960. Twelve years after this period, Mrs. Owen remembers the family's walking down the path to the house of this woman, who had prepared tea and a birthday cake for some member of the family, probably for James Rogan.

In the same period the Secretary of the Board, having been
also been elected his private secretary, began to have a
number of interviews with the Board members and their
advisers. It was not until the end of 1951 that the
Board, after many long and arduous meetings, had
decided upon a plan of action. This plan was to be
carried out by the Secretary and his staff, and the
Board members were to be kept informed of the progress
of the work. The Secretary was to be the central
figure in the work, and his staff were to be
responsible for the day-to-day work. The Board
members were to be consulted on the major
decisions, but the Secretary was to be the one
responsible for the execution of the plan. The
Board members were to be kept informed of the
progress of the work, and the Secretary was to
be the one responsible for the day-to-day work.

1. James Edgar to James A. McLaughlin, December 1, 1951, Box 100.

2. James Edgar to James A. McLaughlin, December 11, 1951, Box 100.

3. James Edgar to James A. McLaughlin, December 11, 1951, Box 100.

set an example of kindness and gentle manners before his children. But, in the naming of the grandchildren, the fine old names of the past were often corrupted into the ugly versions of the current day. Even his own daughters were known almost exclusively by their diminutives -- Mag, Cattie, and Sally -- although James continued to call them by their true names. With the boys, the reverse practice prevailed. Only Leonidas and Richard continued to be spoken of by the familiar names of their childhood. The daughters and daughters-in-law did not speak to or about their husbands in any but the most formal of terms. Lafayette, in his telegram reporting the wounding of his brother-in-law, a man younger than he, referred to him as Mr. Brooks. Except for Walton Rutledge, James referred to his sons-in-law in the same manner. The common sorrows of the war period and the poverty that followed did not diminish the courtesy of this family.¹⁸

At some time during the fall following Catherine's marriage to Mr. Gray, James received a message from his niece, Sue Markell of Frederick, stating that she and her two small sons, Charles and William, had plans for visiting relatives in the South during the following winter and spring when the Markell home and business would be finally disposed of. Her husband, whose devotion to the Southern cause had evidently not been entirely in harmony with the political beliefs of other members of the Markell and Thomas families, on being offered an opportunity to make an appreciable profit on his city property, decided to rid himself of it and retire. To assuage his wife's disappointment at the sale of her home,

¹⁸Rogan, "My Life," 3, passim.

Fred had arranged the visit in the South.¹⁹

Hardly any message to James Rogan could have brought him more pleasure than this one. Between Lafayette and Walton preparations were made for meeting Mrs. Markell at Saulsbury. When she arrived there on January 29, 1869, Walton met her with the hack, evidently a converted buckboard wagon. In this novel vehicle she made the last portion of her trip to visit her uncle.²⁰

On the passage through the town of Ripley, the travelers stopped for a few minutes to meet Sue's cousin Sarah and the latter's year old son, Vance. There Sue was met also by a tall young man whom she recognized instantly as Lafayette. The enlarged party then proceeded to James' home for a meeting which Sue recorded in detail:

Uncle James met us with tears in his eyes. Embracing me, he exclaimed, "At last! At last!" Met Cousin Mag and little George. Uncle sat with his arm about me till teatime. We sat till lateThen we engaged in family worship, when Uncle offered up a most beautiful prayer for our safe arrival.²¹

From that time her visit, which lasted almost five months, was a succession of calls, visits, teas, weddings, and excursions. The Falkners, the Hunts, the Grays -- most of those who had been in Frederick or had had relatives in Frederick during war years -- entertained her and her host. Sue's greatest surprise was to discover the difficulty with which Ripley people moved about the countryside. Few of the many

¹⁹Markell, Diary, II, flyleaf.

²⁰Ibid., II, January 30, 1869.

²¹Idem.

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fine horses and carriages of former days had been replaced. Despite misgivings, Sue frequently rode Lafayette's horse, an ex-cavalry animal named Charger. Her Uncle James had been reduced to an "ox-chariot," though Mag had a fine-blooded, rather unmanageable mare. For her pleasure her uncle had a handsome piano brought from a neighbor's home, his own having been among the casualties of the war years. Her boys became the temporary wards of the young boarders, spending week ends in their homes and learning nature lore from them. Her attachment for her uncle's family increased, but the general poverty of the whole community depressed her. After several postponements, Mrs. Markell and her sons reluctantly departed from Ripley.²²

In a continuation of her visit to the homes of relatives, Sue saw four other uncles, all middle-aged or older. She visited Daniel who was living in the old homestead, where she occupied her mother's bridal chamber. Already Daniel was in constant pain from paralysis.²³ Littleton, Sue recorded, was cordial and generous and still youthful,²⁴ and Perry, who was often away from home, insisted that his niece remain with him for several months. At his home she saw Lilburn whom she described as "a fat, jolly man weighing more than two hundred pounds, with shaggy brows and keen eyes, at once reserved, intelligent, and witty."²⁵

²²Ibid., II, January 29-June 19, 1869.

²³Ibid., II, June 25, 1869.

²⁴Idem.

²⁵Ibid., II, July 8, 1869.

Before Sue Rogan left the South another marriage took place in Ripley, when Margaret Brooks in 1870 became the wife of T. T. Rice, son of Nathaniel Rice, a highly respected lawyer who was influential in Mississippi politics.²⁶

In Ripley Lafayette's children increased rapidly in number because of the incidence of twins. His oldest son was in school. His sister Sarah, not so fortunate, lost her first four children, including Vance, her only son.²⁷ Young Charles, who still resided with his grandfather on week ends, lived in town with Lafayette to be nearer the school during the week. As time passed, the Rogan and Rutledge children came under the influence of Mrs. Buchanan, an experience which most of them cherished.²⁸ At Stonewall College the Rogan granddaughters heard Colonel Falkner open the school's exercises with a reading from the Scriptures. His erect figure and piercing eye, even his mutilated fingers which he kept tucked into the opening of his coat,²⁹ sometimes frightened the small girls.

²⁶Rogan, "My Life," 41.

²⁷Ibid., 43.

²⁸Conversation with Mrs. Sue Rogan Markell of Birmingham, November 11, 1953. Mrs. Markell was the daughter of Lafayette Rogan. She married Charles F. Markell, son of Mrs. Markell of Frederick.

²⁹Conversations with Mrs. Ada Williamson Rogers, New Albany, Mississippi, June 6-10, 1933. Colonel Falkner during the war had several times, when the Federal troops were making intensive searches for his person, evacuated his family to the Williamson home at Pooleville, southwest of New Albany. The association of these families remained close, and Mrs. Williamson, when a student at Stonewall, knew too much of Falkner's very real affection for children to be afraid of his piercing eye.

As James Rogan's grandchildren grew in numbers and years, he found himself alone. At his advanced age and with conditions still far from normal, James began to wish himself free from the responsibility of his land. He had been in Ripley almost twenty-five years, for much of that time confined to the immediate vicinity. Even before the war he had had thoughts of moving which he had confided to his friend Governor R. P. Lowe of Iowa.³⁰ Of all his children none was in a position to come to his rescue but his youngest daughter. He called upon Sally and Walton and handed them a paper. It was an agreement to turn over his farm to them for their use and management in exchange for his room and board and a share of the farm income. Sarah and Walton moved back to the homestead to take charge of the premises and the farm. "Thus," wrote Rogan, "I became free of all worldly cares."³¹

The move proved a very fortunate one for the Rutledges. In the year 1872 the most important event in the history of Ripley occurred. A railroad was built to the town, bringing an end to Rutledge's freight-ing line. For some years previously William Falkner, Richard Thurmond, and others in Ripley, spurred on by the bonus of four thousand dollars per mile offered by the state of Mississippi for railroad construction, had combined their talents and funds in an organization called the Ripley Railroad Company, in an effort to build a railroad from Ripley to Middleton, Tennessee, more than twenty miles to the north. Both Falkner and Thurmond were among those fortunate few in Ripley whose economic status

³⁰R. P. Lowe to James Rogan, June 3, 1872, Rogan Papers.

³¹Rogan, "Biography."

had been greatly enhanced during the war or in the years immediately following. Falkner himself displayed much genius in dealing with Reconstruction officials and with various railroad magnates in places as distant as Memphis and New York.³² Local residents were invited to invest in the railroad, with Colonel Falkner making a public pledge that investors would never be allowed to lose by their acts of faith.³³ James Rogan gave Colonel Falkner one thousand dollars to be funded in four percent bonds.³⁴ Although the northern end of the railroad line had been built by contractors who used convict labor, Walton Rutledge had built his contracted distance of five miles, as well as three miles which another builder had been unable to complete, with free local labor. He had tried to finance the construction himself.³⁵

When a delay occurred and expected outside financial backing for the road failed to materialize, the company could not meet its obligations to the contractors. The men who made up Walton Rutledge's labor force, all of whom were his friends and close acquaintances, were in dire need of their money, most of them having taken this type of employment for that reason. As Rutledge felt a moral obligation to them, he borrowed

³²Ripley Advertiser, April 3, 1886; Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi, I, 714.

³³W. C. Falkner to the Tupelo (Mississippi) Journal, reprinted in the Ripley Advertiser, May 22, 1886; Bondurant, loc. cit., 121.

³⁴William C. Falkner -- "received of James Rogan," October 4, 1870, Rogan Papers.

³⁵Conversation with Mr. Thomas Cox, Ripley, Mississippi, April 6, 1931. Mr. Cox was also an important investor in the railroad company and assumed the obligation of building the remaining two miles of the uncompleted contract.

from his uncle, William Falkner, the sum of twenty-two hundred dollars, giving as security a deed to his house in town, the whole of block forty, all his wagons, horses, gear, and his crops in the field -- in fact, almost everything he owned, the deed to be implemented at the end of the year.³⁶ When at the expiration of the period the company still had not arranged its financing, Rutledge surrendered the collateral.³⁷ Although the recorded deeds are marked "paid in full, January 7, 1871," there is no record of the return of the property. Soon afterwards Rutledge was forced to make a similar loan.³⁸ In return for his contract with the Ripley Railroad Company Walton Rutledge had taken the unsecured personal notes of his uncle.³⁹

Rutledge, caught between the behemoths who began to vie for control of the railroad, lost his chance for recovery. However, because

³⁶Deed Book X, Tippah County, Mississippi, 316.

³⁷Deed Book Y, Tippah County, Mississippi, 417.

³⁸Mr. Thomas Cox to the author, November 17, 1931.

³⁹Although Falkner is given all credit for the inspiration and initiation of the railroad project, he made a contract with Ripley Railroad Company on June 3, 1872 by which he paid into it five hundred dollars to be used in construction. In return for this sum the company issued him two tickets, good for fifty years, and gave him permission to carry one hundred pounds of luggage, the sum being paid at the regular meeting of the stockholders in the presence of the secretary, Richard J. Thurmond. Deed Book 1, Tippah County, Mississippi, 797. The struggle which developed between Falkner and Thurmond, ending in the death of the former by the hand of the latter, almost overshadowed the recent war and the then current Reconstruction. Ripley Advertiser, September 7, 1889. The Rutledges, related by marriage to both families, were placed in an especially unenviable position and later left Ripley, as did the Falkner and Thurmond families. In effect, the event was the end of the old Ripley James Rogan had known and loved. Soon no Rogan remained in the town.

he had accepted Falkner's notes, he believed that his few thousands were well-secured and would be redeemed. When the agreement had been made to put the railroad into operation, Thurmond, realizing that Rutledge's freight line would be almost put out of business, had, with the agreement of the board, engaged Rutledge as one of the conductors.⁴⁰ After the first gala excursion of the train over the new line, Rutledge made one trip. Following the ceremonies, Dick Thurmond came to the young man and urged him never to make another run with the train, putting forth the explanation that as Rutledge still held the Falkner notes which he had recovered after futilely presenting them for payment when the bonus had been at last received, Rutledge's life was in danger. It took extended argument to convince Rutledge that he should give up his new position, but he reluctantly agreed to abide by Thurmond's advice⁴¹ when, about the same time, he received from Colonel Falkner a threatening letter concerning Vance family stone quarries in Alabama, a matter in which Rutledge represented his mother and his aunt Mrs. Brame, and in which Falkner represented the claims of his wife.⁴²

Rutledge was never able to collect the amount due him, but when Falkner himself paid for an engine which he named Old Forty, a jest arose in the Rogan family which attributed this favorite of all Falkner's engines to Walton Rutledge, for the town block he had lost.⁴³

⁴⁰Conversations with Mr. Thomas Cox and Dr. Jefferson D. Burns, Ripley, Mississippi, April 6, 1931.

⁴¹Conversation with Mr. Thomas Cox, Ripley, Mississippi, April 6 1931.

⁴²W. C. Falkner to W. G. Rutledge, August 30, 1872, Rogan Papers

⁴³Conversation with Mrs. E. M. Owen, New Albany, Mississippi, December 23, 1960.

While Rogan's children and grandchildren became involved in their numerous concerns, and Ripley's local triumphs and tragedies developed -- a microcosm of much of the South during the period -- James Rogan decided to present a claim against the United States government. Because he had opposed secession and ardently hoped for the preservation of the Union, James took the oath of amnesty at the first opportunity.⁴⁴ In this act he had distinguished company, even among former Ripley citizens such as Orlando Davis, who as a member of the Secession Convention, had aided in taking Mississippi out of the Union.⁴⁵ Davis had soon been appointed to the bench by James L. Alcorn, an opportunistic politician who learned how to live under Reconstruction. James Rogan had no political aspirations, sought no office, and had no idea at the time he took the oath that a Claims Commission would be created. He had been entirely ready to become again a citizen of the country that had offered opportunity to an Irish immigrant and his sons. When the Commissioners of Claims were appointed, Rogan believed that the United States would be anxious to recompense loyal citizens who had sustained losses by action of agents of the government. In renewing his correspondence with the former governor and Chief Justice of Iowa in 1864 and 1865, Rogan stated his position with regard to his loyal sentiments. Although the letters are lost, subsequent correspondence reveals their contents.⁴⁶

⁴⁴James Rogan to R. P. Lowe, September 7, 1872, Rogan Papers.

⁴⁵Deposition of E. F. Jordan, Ripley, Mississippi, January 3, 1873.

⁴⁶R. P. Lowe to James Rogan, December 4, 1873, Rogan Papers.

Perhaps no indignity of Reconstruction was more degrading to the American Republic than that which the Southern Claims Commission perpetrated upon the Southern people who had remained loyal to the idea of the Union in the midst of the most galling of sacrifices. The act unleashed a flock of vultures -- special agents, lawyers, lobbyists, and deposition givers -- whose presence held out just enough hope to keep intended victims alive until utter destruction could be wrought. James Rogan for more than half a decade expended both his energies and his financial resources for their benefit.

When the Union raids began during the war, Rogan began to keep records, painstakingly and in minute detail. He recorded the objects taken, by whose orders they were seized, the date on which the incident occurred. When his house was pillaged, he made a list of missing objects. When the fruit was taken from the trees, the eggs from the next, the turkeys from the meadows, and he did not know the agent, he merely noted what was missing. For these he entered no claim. But when a wheel was taken from his carriage to replace a damaged one on an army vehicle, when his harness and bridles were seized and his needles and pins were pilfered by an officer or by a soldier as a result of an officer's command, he listed them.⁴⁷ Not only did he itemize his own losses, but he recorded Margaret's as well, for following one of Colonel Hatch's raids she had hardly anything left in which to swaddle her son after his birth or a keepsake to remind her of her husband after his death.⁴⁸

⁴⁷"Rogan Claim," 1-12, Rogan Papers.

⁴⁸Idem.

Mr. Lowe recommended a lawyer for aiding in the presentation of Rogan's claim before the commissioners. It appears from their incomplete correspondence that Lowe had instigated Rogan's action or at least had encouraged him to enter his claim. In one of his letters, when the trend of events seemed to favor a success in James' claim, the former governor asked his trusting friend to inquire among his acquaintances for others who might be prepared to present a petition to the Commission. It is evident that Lowe acted in claims cases by finding clients for a law firm which operated in Washington.⁴⁹ "If you have any friends," he wrote, "who have claims collectable under the act of Congress, I would be glad to attend to them.... My terms will be -- nothing if I don't succeed -- 20% if I do."⁵⁰

In Rogan's case the lawyer, William Richards, became Lowe's partner. He had been formerly associated with Lowe in Iowa. Lowe's Keokuk neighbor, Senator J. B. Howell, became one of the commissioners. This triumvirate then had quite a powerful position. It was Howell who examined and made recommendations concerning Rogan's case.⁵¹

Of Richards, Lowe wrote Rogan:

Mr. Richards is the most successful claim agent that practices before the Commission as he does nothing else and makes it a specialty...and has made over 2000 applications. Senator Howell told me that he much better understood the principals

⁴⁹R. P. Lowe to James Rogan, May 4, 1872, Rogan Papers.

⁵⁰Idem.

⁵¹William Richards to James Rogan, December 20, 1872, Rogan Papers.

and rules upon which the commissioners make their decisions than any other claim agent.⁵²

Among other virtues possessed by Richards, whom Lowe called "an honest candid man who did not want to waste his time and ruin his reputation on hopeless cases," was that of not spurning his opportunities to profit financially. His services were not free. Lowe warned Rogan that he must be prepared to meet the expense of proving the claim.⁵³

So the case began. Rogan sent in his statement of his position and his itemized claim and in other ways complied with the regulations.⁵⁴ The first reaction of his advisers was instantaneous and adverse. When the fact of residence in a seceded state was considered prima-facie evidence of disloyalty, Rogan was advised of the necessity of phrasing his denunciation of Southern practices and ideology in strong terms. "I return your statements to you considerably marked," wrote Richards.⁵⁵ The fact that James had had five sons and two sons-in-law, as well as numerous nephews, in Confederate service could not be minimized. His reference to his discipleship to John Netherland was not effective, for Netherland's rupture with Andrew Johnson had come before that man's fall from Radical grace. Perhaps the most damaging of questions to be answered was the one which concerned James' safety from the Confederacy. James could not state that his life or property

⁵²R. P. Lowe to James Rogan, June 3, 1872, Rogan Papers.

⁵³Idem.

⁵⁴Southern Claims Commission, Questions to be Answered by Claimant Under Oath (n.p., n.d.); Commissioners of Claims, First General Report of the Commissioners of Claims (Washington, 1871), 1 et seq.

⁵⁵William Richards to James Rogan, September 20, 1872, Rogan Papers.

had been in jeopardy when he resided in the Confederacy. Most of his deponents, friendly or otherwise, admitted that James Rogan had had nothing to fear from his neighbors. "No one would have hurt him, he was such a good old man," testified one of his neighbors who had at first been a Unionist.⁵⁶

Rogan's dogged adherence to truth first annoyed, then disgusted his lawyers. When he refused to distort his original testimony, Lowe wrote him, "It is a matter of phraseology and you could answer one way or another without making any difference....Reflect upon the statement you ought to make and see if you cannot make it in substance."⁵⁷ When Rogan evidently refused to say that he had no sympathy for his neighbors during the war, Lowe wrote with distaste: "And let us have no more about your character from witnesses. That is unimportant."⁵⁸

Some of the opposition's deponents endeavored to damage James' case as much as possible. E. F. Jordan gave a vivid account of Rogan's conduct, as follows:

I heard that the Secesh had a meeting at which Rogan was present and it was decided Thos. Maddox was a dangerous man...he was sending information to the Yankees and it was decided to send him South and claimant sent word to Chalmers to come and get him, but Tom Rogan, a darky belonging to claimant, came and told Maddox and he made his escape.⁵⁹

⁵⁶Deposition of William Persons, Ripley, Mississippi, January 3, 1873, Rogan Papers.

⁵⁷R. P. Lowe to James Rogan, June 3, 1872, Rogan Papers.

⁵⁸Ibid., April 12, 1872.

⁵⁹Deposition of E. F. Jordan, Ripley, Mississippi, January 3, 1873, Rogan Papers.

Another Union man testified that Rogan gave active help to the Confederate army. He said,

I know the claimant had two companies of guerillas to stay often on his place to catch stragglings Yankees... He had Captain Hansel's /Stancil's/ company hiding on his place as they stayed in Ripley all the time nearly. And there was another company stayed there and he fed them.⁶⁰

While one of his own witnesses could say little of Rogan's behavior during a part of the war, he gave a good account of his own.

My name is J. F. Ford. I am 68 yrs. old. I live in Ripley, Tippah Co., Miss. Have lived here for 30 yrs. I am editor of a paper. I am not related to claimant. As far as I know claimant was /a loyal man/. Before the war he expressed himself as opposed to secession. What aid and comfort he may have given the Rebel army I have no knowledge as I was absent a good deal of the time keeping out of the way of Yankees. I was publishing a paper and there had been some pretty strong articles in it against the Yankees and they were very hostile to me. They burnt my printing office and my dwelling and all I had in the world. Further, this deponent knoweth not.⁶¹

William Richards through his friendship with Howell had access to the files of the Commission. In order that Rogan might know what certain citizens had said of him, Richards took their recorded testimony from the files and sent the papers to his client. He insisted that Rogan should not divulge the information, although Senator Howell must have been aware of the disappearance of such documents under his care. Among

⁶⁰Deposition of Samuel Moses, Ripley, Mississippi, January 3, 1873, Rogan Papers.

⁶¹Deposition of J. F. Ford, Ripley, Mississippi, January 3, 1873, Rogan Papers.

these letters were those written by Judge Orlando Davis, Senator James L. Alcorn, and Congressman G. E. Harris. Of Orlando Davis, Richards once wrote Rogan, "Judge Davis has known you for thirty years. If you can get him to say something in your behalf, I am sure your claim will be granted."⁶²

Previously, Judge Davis had written, in part, as follows:

Holly Springs, Miss.
Jany. 7, 1873

Hon. James Rogan of Ripley, Miss. is an applicant for pay for property taken from him during the war for the use of the U. S. Army....

I knew Judge Rogan well all that time /thirty years/ and I never heard him express any sentiment in favor of Secession in my life...and my recollection is that H. W. Stricklin /by whose testimony Rogan expected to prove his case/ told me in his lifetime that he would testify. I know from Judge Rogan's conversations with me during Stricklin's lifetime that he felt sure of making this proof by Stricklin.

I further know that during the war when Sol Street, who was a Captain of a Company of Confederate Partisan Rangers --- seized and took away James Whitten's horses and wagons because he, Whitten, expressed Union sentiments --- that Judge Rogan was open in expressing his indignation at Street's conduct, and his opinion that Whitten's property ought to be restored to him. This was in the autumn of 1862, or winter following, certainly before March 1863.

I further know that Judge Rogan is a man for most exalted truth and honor -- and every other good and noble quality that adorns human nature -- and I am sure he would not profess a Sentiment he

⁶²William Richards to James Rogan, April 12, 1873, Rogan Papers.

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never held, for anything the United States Government could bestow upon him....

Your friend, etc
O. Davis
Judge 10th Circuit
State of Mississippi⁶³

This letter did not please Richards. Nor was he impressed by another which accompanied it, which read:

Jany 27nd, 1873
/Washington, D. C./

I have the honor of an acquaintance with Judge Rogan of Tippah County, Miss. and take pleasure in attesting the fact that he is a gentleman of the highest integrity, and standing in his community, a worthy gentleman in every respect. I have known him personally only since the war and never heard anything said of his loyalty... I have long known the Hon. Orlando Davis and know him to be a gentleman very worthy of his position, a gentleman of fidelity and entitled to credit in all that he says on this or any other subject. He formerly resided in Tippah County and well knew Judge Rogan and had the opportunity of knowing all about Judge Rogan.

Most respectfully
G. E. Harris
M.C.⁶⁴

On August 22, 1872, Judge Davis had written Senator Alcorn a letter praising James Rogan -- "No citizen of this community /Ripley/ ever had a higher character for everything that adorns human nature" -- and asking the Senator to say something in Rogan's behalf, adding, "I have never heard a single word said against his character in any way -- and

⁶³Orlando Davis to the Claims Commission, January 7, 1873, Rogan Papers.

⁶⁴G. E. Harris to the Claims Commission, January 7, 1873, Rogan Papers.

indeed I might go farther and say that all I have ever heard of him has been in his praise."⁶⁵

In complying with Davis' request, Alcorn wrote as follows:

Washington City, D.C.

Jany 22, 1873

This shows that I am personally acquainted with the Hon. O. Davis who is at present Judge of the 10th Judicial District of the Circuit Court of Miss. -- that I appointed him while I was Governor of Mississippi to the office which he now holds. I deemed him worthy...a gentleman of high standing of unimpeachable integrity, and his statements are entitled to the credence and to the fullest credit in any statement he may be called to make

J. L. Alcorn
U. S. Senator
Mississippi⁶⁶

Of Orlando Davis' loyalty and integrity, certain deponents in Rogan's case had other ideas. For instance, one said, "I never heard of Orlando Davis being a Union man...he was an ardent Southern man."⁶⁷ A man of Unionist sentiments, amazed to hear of Orlando Davis' recent rise in favor in Republican circles, gave vent to his displeasure, stating that "I heard Judge Davis rip and holler after the first Bull Run and bet \$500 the Yankees would never gain a victory." He added, "James Rogan

⁶⁵Orlando Davis to J. L. Alcorn, August 28, 1872, Rogan Papers.

⁶⁶J. L. Alcorn to the Claims Commission, January 22, 1873, Rogan Papers.

⁶⁷Deposition of W. R. Cole, Ripley, Mississippi, January 3, 1873, Rogan Papers.

use to swear and curse all over town after a Yankee raid."⁶⁸

In December, 1873, Richards wrote Lowe that Judge Rogan had been allowed more than twenty-six hundred dollars,⁶⁹ but before Rogan had time to reply, someone in high position intervened, and the Congress returned his case for further evidence. The whole process of proving Rogan's claim had to be begun again. Additional proof and rebuttal testimony had to be taken. More of Rogan's friends who had known his position had died. But two factors especially hurt his case. The former foes of the Union supported his cause; the friends of the Union opposed him. All agreed, moreover, that had the outcome of the war been different, James Rogan would have had no trouble in collecting from a victorious Confederacy.⁷⁰

In the long controversy Rogan believed that the lawyers and officials who were interested in his case sincerely supported his cause, but on the basis of the testimony and the correspondence available, facts seem to indicate that he was deceived. Although Rogan asked Lowe to submit their correspondence of previous years as evidence and to testify before the Commission on his behalf, Lowe -- in a jocular manner -- replied that his testimony would add nothing to the case.⁷¹ Letters from Davis,

⁶⁸Deposition of James M. Whitten, "You-Bet Station," Hardeman County, Tennessee, January 3, 1873, Rogan Papers.

⁶⁹William Richards to R. P. Lowe, December 9, 1873, Rogan Papers.

⁷⁰"Rebutting Testimony of Andrew Brown, Merchant, C. P. Miller, Merchant, Col. W. C. Falkner, Attorney at Law, and J. F. Ford, Publisher," Ripley, Mississippi, February 22, 1874, Rogan Papers.

⁷¹R. P. Lowe to James Rogan, December 20, 1872, Rogan Papers.

and the most and most all that was in the year 1870

On January 1871, the first of the year 1871

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Alcorn, and Harris, although apparently freely given, were ineffective, "unsworn," and consequently inadmissible,⁷² though these adaptable gentlemen above all others should have known the worthlessness of such testimony.

When 1877 came and a larger number of reputable Southern representatives returned to positions of power throughout the legislative halls, chances of Rogan's success would appear to have been enhanced. Instead of adding his name to an appropriation bill which would probably be acted upon by a less radical Congress, the Commissioners denied his claim in full without reporting it to Congress. The following letter gives a brief summary of proceedings:

War Department
Office of Chief of Finance
Washington, D. C.
July 18, 1941

Mrs. E. M. Owen
New Albany, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Owen:

Referring to your letter of January 24, 1941, in regard to an award made by the Southern Claims Commission, established in 1871, in the sum of \$2,644.00 to James Rogan, your grandfather, in settlement of a claim presented to the commission in 1872, for Commissary and Quartermaster Stores, amount claimed \$4,146.00...also a disallowed claim for \$4,160.00 filed with the Commission in the year 1877...this office has now completed the search for and examination of records relating to the matter of these claims.

The Chief of Finance directs me to inform you, with regret, that the records relating to this claim show that the claim filed in 1872 was first submitted to Congress with an allowance of \$2,644.00

⁷²William Richards to James Rogan, April 12, 1873, Rogan Papers.

that the Congress returned it and that it was later reported to Congress as fully disallowed. The second claim for \$4,146.00, filed in 1877, apparently for the same property, was also disallowed by the commission in full.

Very truly yours,
M. R. Tidwell, Jr.
Captain
Finance Department⁷³

At eighty years of age, James Rogan, in spite of the failure of his claim, could keep his faith in his fellow man. Although his son-in-law still suffered from the effects of his earlier losses, the family on the farm survived. What amounts Rogan paid for travel expenses, daily pay to deponents, and fees to special agents and to lawyers is not known. Only one record of the kind has survived, a receipt for sixty dollars from Orlando Davis given at the time of the announcement of the formation of the Claims Commission.⁷⁴

James turned his attention to other matters. He wrote two versions of his life and a short biography of his father, completing them on March 4, 1879. He began again to visit relatives. His brother Griffith died in 1880 and his brother Daniel in the following year.⁷⁵ In Ripley the town was excited about the production of a play by Colonel Falkner called "The Lost Diamond" and the publication in 1881 of his novel

⁷³M. R. Tidwell, Office of the Chief of Finance, War Department, to Mrs. E. M. Owen, July 18, 1941, in the possession of the author.

⁷⁴Orlando Davis -- "received of James Rogan on account," Memphis, Tennessee, October 20, 1871, Rogan Papers.

⁷⁵Rogan, "Family Record," 12, 15.

The White Rose of Memphis, with its exciting background of masquerades on a river boat. After his daughter Catherine's sudden death, James heard of the death of Fred Markell in Columbus, Mississippi.⁷⁶ But James, looking no more than sixty, felt very well.⁷⁷

⁷⁶Markell, Diary, II, end paper.

⁷⁷Rogan, "My Life," 34-36. On September 10, 1885, James W. Rogan wrote of his father that "He was an active vigorous man, even at his advanced age and scarcely seemed more than 60." Diary of James W. Rogan, September, 1884-October, 1887, September 10, 1885, typed and edited copy in the possession of the author.

CHAPTER X

THE CHRISTIAN LIFE

"For more than sixty years I have endeavored to lead a Christian life." So wrote James Rogan when, on his eighty-seventh birthday, he in the seclusion of his Ripley farmhouse reviewed and evaluated his long life.¹ This statement was contained in a letter written in answer to persistent questions, his own and those of others, as to the meaning of his "well preserved physical abilities, the absence of the usual marks and indications of old age -- cheeks but slightly furrowed if at all, the head silvered but not white, the body upright and step generally quick."² Rogan's final conclusion was the often reiterated one: "In this too the Lord has been most wonderfully and truly kind in bestowing on me the smiles of his countenance, so oft when found on Christian Duty."³

Like an excellently contrived catastrophe in the eminent plays of antiquity, the entire drama of Rogan's religious life had been foreshadowed from the beginning. With his first memories rooted in the frontier soil that was illumined by the fires of the Great Revival at its roaring height, he had had kindled within him an ardent adherence to Protestant orthodoxy. For him, religious conviction never became a separate category of his life, shut tight against the vicissitudes of the world.

¹James Rogan to the Editor, Ripley Sentinel, December 18, 1884.

²Idem.

³Idem.

Instead, his faith became the central motif of his life, and the accidents of his career he brought, insofar as he could, into harmony with the recurring theme.

In the mind of a child who could not walk, the wonder of the revival meeting with its people and emotions was a pinnacle in itself, a summit to be achieved. From the mists and bogs of Ireland to the glens and mists of Virginia's heights, the career of Daniel Rogan, at intervals glistening through the rents of time, entrapped for his son's imagination a kind of awesome delight. The mystery of the past and the magic of the present seemed to be united in his father.

An Irishman from Ireland, whose home port had perhaps echoed with his name since the early days of Gaelic history,⁴ Daniel, who has been variously attributed to Belfast, to County Down, to Donegal, told no one of his past, remaining an enigma to his oldest son who, till the end of his life, believed his father to be, like his name, Irish-Irish.⁵ Nevertheless, he wondered about Daniel's past. As to his father's earliest religion, James was silent, probably because he knew nothing, but the first portion of his biography of his father is missing, so that even the facts he may have known cannot be reconstructed. James often said, however, that

⁴American Council of Learned Societies, "Report of Committee on Linguistic and National Stocks in the Population of the United States," Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1931 (3 vols., Washington, 1932), I, 148-149. Rogan or Roughan is probably the oldest form of this name of which the more common current derivatives are Ruogan, Roan, Rowan, Rohan, Ruane.

⁵James Rogan to Lily Rogan of Rogersville, Tennessee, n.d., Rogan Papers.

Daniel sailed from Dublin and landed in Baltimore, the chosen course of most of the Catholic Irish of the day. Although the Catholic Irish dotted the frontier and theoretically had the privileges of their religion, priests still were scarce, and a solitary Irishman, surrounded by men of other creeds, tended to blend anonymously into the general population.⁶ A few years before Rogan came to Maryland, Bishop Carroll reported that there were sixteen thousand Catholics in Maryland, mostly Irish; yet a decade later, the church at Hagerstown had to be closed for lack of communicants.⁷

Around the Rogans in the Virginia Valley there were large numbers of Germans -- Reformed, Lutherans, Dunkards. There, also, were the English, who had a nominal parish church in counties that were later divided four and five times, and there were the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, who had thirty churches in the Valley long before the time Rogan arrived.⁸ As Daniel and Catherine passed through Hagerstown, they probably saw the Catholic Church that was soon to be abandoned, and they passed on down the Valley to Fincastle to a point where no church at all existed.

The phenomenon of mass involvement in religious hysteria impressed even the most cynical individuals. The brush arbor, the protracted meetings, the renowned circuit riders, the communal interests of an area -- all worked together to draw even so contemptuous a visitor as

⁶Gohmann, op. cit., 41.

⁷Forrester, "Migration of Catholics," 43-44.

⁸Freeman H. Hart, The Valley of Virginia in the American Revolution, 1763-1789 (Chapel Hill, 1942), 34.

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Mrs. Trollope under their spell. She was impressed favorably on the frontier by the evening hymn in the forest with its solemn and beautiful effect.⁹ What chance then had Daniel Rogan?

In the year 1802 the Baptist revivalists, coming in from all directions, bombarded the Fincastle area in a prolonged series of meetings. New churches and new associations resulted.¹⁰ When Daniel responded to their call, he did so wholeheartedly, and his hymnbook that survives shows how he united his talents with those of the Moormans, whose revival at Little Otter lasted more than two years, surely a record for endurance.¹¹

In the absence of hymnbooks, the minister gave out the lines, often composing both words and music as he progressed, and the people repeated his words. Simple and ballad-like, the lines were short so that the congregation could remember them. In the style of the frontier Daniel wrote a few evangelistic hymns:

Come ye sinners, who waste away
The noontide hour of Gospel day.
In sinful paths, you careless stray
Tho' conscience stings, ye scorn to pray
For the prize of Christ's communion.

Draw near and see what God hath done
For Jesus' sake, His spotless Son,
Who will finish what he begun
And crown all those who faithful run
For the prize of Christ's communion.¹²

⁹Charles A. Johnson, The Frontier Camp Meeting: Religion's Harvest Time (Dallas, 1955), 141.

¹⁰Semple, op. cit., 342-343.

¹¹Idem; Daniel Rogan, Hymn Book, unpaginated manuscript in the possession of the author.

¹²Rogan, Hymn Book.

With a four-line rhyming stanza broken by the caesura like the early ballads and songs of the British Isles, this hymn was adaptable to familiar tunes -- "Green Sleeves," for instance.

Later, Baptist theology crept in to complicate the composition. The following stanzas reveal also the Baptist belief in Bible study and in a knowledge of the scriptural foundations of dogma:

Matthew and Mark expressly say,
By words to this intent,
When Jesus was baptized, straightway
He out of water went.

If Christ saw fit to enter in
A precept He did show,
As what He did could be no sin,
Then in his steps I'll go. Etc.¹³

But why do some from this contend
Young babes we should baptize?
Search Holy Writ from end to end,
Where does the precept rise?

Sure all, of this, are well apprized
Or they at least may know,
A single babe that was baptized
In scriptures none can show. Etc.¹⁴

Pondering his doubts and certainties in his writing, Daniel on occasion turned from theology to morality. Coming as he did from a country which had long been oppressed, American slavery, which was new to him, impressed on his free and independent spirit a sense of guilt of a kind

¹³Idem. This hymn is most revealing. The third verse of the second stanza speaks in the terms not of the heathen redeemed, but of a convert from another dogma, in which breach of practice is perhaps more reprehensible than intellectual deviation. In other words, it seems the justification of one who has deviated. The next two stanzas certainly appear to be the result of inner conflict, an attempt to strengthen his own recent decision. These are hardly the arguments of a recent unbeliever.

¹⁴Idem.

that could have arisen either from the Puritan concept of the Father who chastened his Elect or from the Catholic concept of penance, temporal recompense for the good of the soul. At any rate, Daniel poured out his compassion in lyrics, a literary form found but rarely on the frontier, and, assuming the black man's role, he sang the black man's song.

Alas, and must poor black man fall
By ruthless white man's hand?
I pray, my God, forgive him all
This breach of thy command.
Yes, glory, honor, to my God
I'll praise him whilst I can
And tho' I feel the white man's rod,
Oh, Lord, forgive white man.

Oh, Lord, now hear the black man's cry,
His simple prayer attend.
Of Grace give him a full supply,
Oh, be the black man's friend.
Yes, Glory, honor to my God.
I'll praise him whilst I can.
'Tis for my good he holds the rod.
He is the friend of man. Etc.¹⁵

Regardless of his creed, the compassion of the former Irishman on an almost free frontier was revealed in his lines.

At the time of the revival at Little Otter several visitors and students passing through the length and breadth of the frontier looking for Roman Catholics had to report that the faith had almost vanished.¹⁶ Where did the Catholic Irish go? Signs point to the nearest Protestant church, and in the eternal language of the frontier seem to say, "They went that-a-way."

Daniel Rogan, finding a few points of Baptist doctrine with which he could not agree, eventually withdrew from that fold.¹⁷ Catherine, after

¹⁵Idem.

¹⁶Gohmann, op. cit., 33; Forrester, op. cit., 22.

¹⁷Rogan, "Daniel Rogan."

the move to Tennessee, attended whatever church was in the vicinity. When the Great Revival settled upon Kingsport, Catherine entered the church of the Scotch-Irish, who predominated in that area, and became a Presbyterian. Daniel, shortly before his death, followed his wife's example. For all the personal magnetism his father had for James, the early religious influences emanating from his mother were even more influential, being derived from a tender and intimate relationship. James Rogan thought of those early days with nostalgia, when he wrote,

It was my greatest effort to revere, love and obey my parents, ever careful not to wound their feelings; yet in many instances / I / may have done it. Thus growing up under the care and guidance of a precious, tender, kind and Christian mother, a kind and good father, my moral habits were so moulded that I was seldom if ever found in youthful, wicked, or immoral practices of the day (even more so in the youth of today) such as desecrating the Sabbath day¹⁸ or taking the name of God in vain, a practice always abhorrent to my feelings.... I have always felt a reverence for the church and Christian worship, going to church with my parents, with my mother especially, and to see her weep or shed tears would tender my heart and make tears run down my youthful cheeks. And when not more than ten or eleven years of age felt a strong desire to be good and become a Christian!¹⁹

James Rogan never forgot the events of the day on which he joined the Presbyterian Church. He remembered the spiritual experience and its consequences. From that time his attitude was one of perpetual renewal

¹⁸Rogan, "My Life," 45.

¹⁹Ibid., 47.

of the contrasting emotions of humility and exaltation he felt that day, for as he said,

Twas then the necessity of a change /in/ life became more fully impressed upon the mind and heart already to some degree feeling the...importance of such a change and earnestly seeking an interest in the blood of a Crucified Savior. By the assistance and influence of the Divine Spirit exercising forth in the Lord Jesus Christ, I was enabled to cast myself humbly at the foot of the Cross, feeling that God for Christ's sake had pardoned my sins, that I had been made a new creature in Christ Jesus; and at this time the most glorious and Happy Period of my life began.²⁰

Soon afterwards James and Sarah moved away to Gunter's Landing. Here on the strange soil of the Great Bend, surrounded by Indians, they often attended the Mission Church on the Old Creek Path. No stranger to Indians, James began his real work among them during this period and the memory of them was always pleasant to him. "Was very fond of meeting with them (Cherokees) at this station. Their manners and attention were of the most profound and exceptional character," he recalled.²¹ The head of the Mission was the Reverend William Potter, a noted minister active in the inner circles of both Synod and Assembly, who perhaps started James on a lifetime of active participation in the work of the church. Later James wrote:

I remember, in the absence of the missionary, I was called upon by his most excellent wife to perform the exercises and duties of the Sabbath by reading a sermon and going through

²⁰Idem.

²¹Ibid., 26.

the ceremonies and forms to which they were accustomed. My intercourse with these people was pleasant indeed.²²

A Methodist mission was founded across the river from Gunter's Landing. Later Rogan wrote that when he lived at the Landing, J. B. McFerrin -- "then a young minister, now a prominent D.D. and a prominent man in the Methodist Church" -- was in charge. Rogan attended his camp meetings. Two decades later when James moved to Ripley, this same frontier missionary was a visiting preacher there.²³

After Rogan moved on to Ashville, he actively participated in the inauguration of long camp meetings at that place. In 1838 at the end of an arduous August political campaign, he and a Baptist minister who was a candidate for circuit clerk returned to Ashville. They found messages there urging them to attend and to assist in a revival meeting then in progress at a country church six or seven miles east of town, which was being conducted by two Baptist ministers from Tuscaloosa.²⁴ On arrival Rogan noticed that

It was plainly manifest that there was a deep work going on of no ordinary character. Soon catching the Spirit and flavor of Divine Love in our bosom, /we were/ enabled to enter into the work experiencing great joy and comfort in our hearts, giving praises to the Most High for such wonderful displays of divine power and grace in the awakening of sinners and the building up and encouraging the hearts of God's people.²⁵

²²Ibid., 27.

²³Ibid., 28; Ripley Reporter, May 17, 1915.

²⁴Rogan, "My Life," 107.

²⁵Ibid., 108.

When the ministers were exhausted, the congregation moved to town where for six weeks the lay readers kept the meeting going. "Oh!" said Rogan, "this was a precious season."²⁶ For two years, James thought, the spirit of the revival exerted influence on the people. As a result, the Presbytery at Mobile granted permission for the formation of a Presbyterian church in Ashville. James Rogan was ordained as ruling elder and sole church official.²⁷

For a while ministers came by turn to fill the pulpit, but after James left and the war came, it was increasingly difficult for the Presbyterians to compete with other denominations. Like St. Mary's Church in Hagerstown in Daniel's day, the Presbyterians, once archfoes of the Catholics, began to wither away. Ashville was bypassed as new roads were made and the river was replaced by the railroads. "Last year I believe /1877/, the church was dissolved," James wrote.²⁸

The Cumberland Presbyterians, rebels in Daniel's day but by the time of James' Ashville experience a lusty young church, held a great camp meeting twelve miles south of town only a few years before James moved away. The revival was a genre in which this sect was supreme. "A special friend proposed that we take our families and camp, a large tent being offered us. This friend was my family physician and not a Christian," James recorded.²⁹ The nine Rogans, the James Bothwells, and two other

²⁶Ibid., 109.

²⁷Idem.

²⁸Ibid., 110.

²⁹Dr. James J. Bothwell, a distinguished physician, was a scholarly and dignified man. In 1842-1843 he represented St. Clair in the legislature. Garrett, op. cit., 285.

families, with great quantities of luggage and household equipment, embarked upon one of the adventures James was never to forget.

"One Sabbath evening the entire party, fatigued by the protracted exercises, retired to the tent while the exercises on the stand continued with unabated interest." However, Dr. Bothwell felt an especial urge to return to the exciting scene under the arbor. The entire group dressed and returned to the throng. As James recounted, "Someone came for me to go and pray for a young lady then under conviction in a tent. After a great agony of Spirit, her captivated soul was set at liberty. The father, an unconverted man, was present. The daughter, lovingly and tenderly embracing him in her arms, prayed for and exhorted that he flee from the wrath to come."³⁰

Outside, the campfires cast their lights on the trees. "The moon was shining in all its beauty. The music and sounds of the night made a pleasing rhythm." On returning to his own tent, Rogan found his friend with his face buried in his hands, "bowed under conviction." James' whole being was washed by emotion. He recalled,

As the fire of divine love was greatly kindled and revived in my own heart, I felt prepared to say something encouraging to him and as I progressed the anxiety increased. The earthen vessel was filled to overflow with loud expressions of joy and comfort. So wonderful were the workings of the divine Spirit within, all of a sudden strange sensations of a pleasant character came upon me, reaching to the extremities with a kind of tingling feeling in the fingers and toes, / I / sinking down, losing power of speech but not of consciousness, the blood seeming almost to stop circulating, the skin in the face drawn up, the mouth puckered, the whole

³⁰Rogan, "My Life," 110.

countenance somewhat distorted. Yet with all it was a happy state.... In all religious excitement, whether private or public, for about Two Years these sensations or operations of the Divine Spirit (but not to the same extent) continued with me, often causing loud outbursts of Joy and praise,³¹ and forty years past whenever the fire of divine love is kindled up to an unusual degree, whether in the congregation or at home, whether in the day or silent hours of the night... these demonstrations of involuntary exclamations burst forth in loud exclamations of joy and praise. An effort to repress them produces discomfort and pain.³²

Of Dr. Bothwell it was written that he like many others "yielded to an enemy which destroyed him in the meridian of life. How many bright intellects have been quenched in darkness, and useful men taken from society and a pleasant family circle, by this fell destroyer, ardent spirits? And yet how few take warning by their fate...."³³ Little could the biographer have known of Dr. Bothwell's struggle on that night by the campfires' glow.

Rogan's religious activity continued after he moved to Mississippi. In Ripley one church building served all the congregations in the early days. The Reverend W. A. Gray, formerly of Pontotoc, who came to Ripley to serve as Presbyterian minister in 1840, remained in that post for forty years. As soon as James arrived, Gray and his congregation made him superintendent of the Sunday School and ruling elder, positions he held almost to the end of his life.³⁴

³¹Ibid., 112.

³²Ibid., 113.

³³Garrett, op. cit., 285.

³⁴Ripley Reporter, May 10, 1915.

As he directed the religious life of his neighbors' children, so James tried also to guide that of his own. He wrote:

I have endeavored to so order my work and conversation before my children and the world so as to teach them the reality of the Christian religion, so comforting to the child of God and so as to follow in my footsteps insofar as I may follow Christ.... All have been brought to the Savior and some have already gone and those yet living on the way to the Christian home on High.³⁵

When James' son Lafayette was imprisoned during the war, Lafayette's faith filled such an important part of his diary that the editor of the diary wrote of him,

And thus the year ends, /with Lafayette/ still hoping and praying for the parole or exchange that never came. Mr. Rogan leaned heavily on his religion. It is to be hoped that he never lost faith; for his was a very dark path.³⁶

Almost a century later a daughter of Lafayette wrote that often she wondered whether the children in the family had been brought up correctly: "So many other young people did things that couldn't all have been wrong but that it never occurred to us to do. Did we miss the pleasures of youth? It didn't seem so then. I suppose I shall never know."³⁷

Perhaps the crowning laurel of Rogan's church life was bestowed when he in his eighty-first year became a delegate to the General Presbytery meeting in Knoxville. Appointed to the powerful judiciary committee

³⁵Rogan, "My Life," 52.

³⁶Rogan, "Rock Island Diary," loc. cit., 48.

³⁷Mrs. Nathan L. Miller of Birmingham, Alabama, to the author, September 8, 1953.

As he discussed the religious life of his people.

He found that to guide him in his work.

I have endeavored to do what my work was.
I have endeavored to do what my work was.
I have endeavored to do what my work was.
I have endeavored to do what my work was.
I have endeavored to do what my work was.
I have endeavored to do what my work was.
I have endeavored to do what my work was.
I have endeavored to do what my work was.
I have endeavored to do what my work was.
I have endeavored to do what my work was.

There is a great deal of work to be done.

There is a great deal of work to be done.

There is a great deal of work to be done.

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There is a great deal of work to be done.

There is a great deal of work to be done.

as the only layman, he took unspoken but evident pride in the fact that when he dissented and presented a minority report, it was adopted by the general body.³⁸ The oldest man at the Presbytery, looking far younger than his years, he was surprised that the great men in the church showed such deference to him. But for all their attentions he gave less space in his diary to their words than to the foot washing at a Dunkard church which he and his son James attended after he went on to East Tennessee for a visit.

One Saturday he and James W. left Rogersville in a buggy at three o'clock in the afternoon for the Dunkard Meeting House which was about six miles to the northeast. Once there they listened while several ministers preached sermons, after which the congregation moved outdoors. There under the trees tables had been arranged in an open rectangle, the tables being covered with "pure white cloths."³⁹ After a regular meal had been served and eaten, the remaining food was removed. To the Dunkards this meal served as a memorial to the Last Supper. After it, another song and prayer service was held for the group -- perhaps one hundred in number -- and bread and wine put before each one. While the two-inch pieces of bread were distributed, the group sat in silence. Then, as Rogan recalled, "after the call to remember Christ's words, all ate simultaneously." The process was repeated with the wine.⁴⁰

³⁸Rogan, Diary, May, 1878.

³⁹Ibid., September 8, 1878.

⁴⁰Idem.

For the washing of the feet, James was seated at the center of the preachers' table, from which he watched the ceremony. He was interested by the fact that "as a communicant had his feet washed by a brother, the minister bestowed a kiss upon him, and the participant whose feet had been washed then lifted and kissed the one who had performed the significant part of the ritual."⁴¹ Afterwards James and his son rode back to town in their buggy, enjoying the beauty of the starlit night.

Rogan's visit lengthened. He saw more old friends than he had seen at any one time since his young manhood. He was in an accident when a buggy in which he was riding overturned, but he received no injury.⁴² As usual, he returned to Ripley by way of Maria's home in Talladega where old ministers and laymen came many miles to see him again, reminding him of his old crusading days. He jotted down their names and ages as places and dates came easily to his mind.⁴³ When he finally returned to Ripley, he had been absent more than a year.

Time passed. He still walked to church except in the very worst weather, anxious to reach the building and to see his friends, often saying, "Oh, I do love a Christian."⁴⁴ Then sitting down at the age of eighty-seven to write to the newspaper in answer to numerous questions, he added,

⁴¹Idem.

⁴²Ibid., October 3, 1878.

⁴³Ibid., October 1 et seq.

⁴⁴James Rogan to Anson West, Ripley, Mississippi, n.d., Rogan Papers; Rogan, "Biography."

And now at the beginning of a New Year of life's journey I trust that in view of the life to come the hopes and prospects are of a bright and glorious character and that whenever it shall please the Lord to call me to the marriage supper of the Lamb, I shall be prepared; and when approaching the river will find its turbid waters quiet and serene, subsided down to a little rivulet; just one step across and all will be well.⁴⁵

⁴⁵James Rogan to the Editor, Ripley Sentinel, December 18, 1884.

CHAPTER XI

THE RIVULET

Part of the miracle of life to James Rogan was that it could last so long without leaving physical signs of drastic change to mark the passing years. Time and again he reviewed his life. Six of his brothers and sisters were dead, most of them for a very long time. Some of their children had died also and their grandchildren as well. The scope and space of his activities as he recalled them gained height and breadth. Of his own children four were gone. Grandchildren and great-grandchildren had enlarged his physical and emotional life. With a memory that re-created event after event, he sometimes believed that he had possessed more than his just share of life. He spent many hours of his declining years writing letters of condolence, one after the other, to old friends, until the old friends themselves came to the termination of their days. He looked into the mirror and scrutinized his image. He studied himself objectively and sat down, as he was accustomed to do when in a reflective mood, to write.

I am five feet, seven and a half inches high. Stand erect, full around the chest, weigh one hundred and seventy-five pounds. Smooth full face, no wrinkles on face or brow. Florid complexion, perhaps one half of the hairs in my head are silvered, the balance dark. Hazel eyes, quick step. Generally thought by those who know nothing of my age to be about sixty-five years old. Now eighty-one and a quarter years old.¹

¹James Rogan, Memorandum, Rogan Papers.

For some time he had practiced writing wills and deeds, of which a few remain. With the little fortune of his former days swept away, there remained to be decided upon principally bequests of his personal belongings and of the furniture he had made. He realized the blessing of a law that allowed him to dispose of his possessions as he chose. All his living children had recovered from the effects of the war. Only Sally appeared to him to have had very little from life. Sally had been deprived of her mother in early childhood, compelled during adolescence to endure the excitements and fears of the war, and bereft of everything -- home, business, money -- in the construction of the railroad. She had lost her first four children within two years. Not his first child but the last, James determined, should have his all, the little farm and the house Lafayette built "and all appurtainances."²

For favorite grandchildren and nieces and for his Sabbath School children, James wrote elaborate acrostics which he illuminated and embellished in colors. To friends he wrote letters, and some of those friends thanked him for counsel that from another would have appeared meddling interference. In a letter to a friend of long standing, he cautioned against her persistent animosity toward Mrs. Buchanan and admonished against her petty jealousy:

And now, my dear Christian Sister, as I have ventured thus far, there is another subject of a very tender and delicate character which has been pressing upon my mind for a long time and I trust you will not think it a breach of courtesy or an impropriety in me to mention the

²James Rogan, Deeds and Wills, Rogan Papers.

matter. I allude to the estrangement on your part from Mrs. Buchanan.... We are all fallible creatures.... Let this unfriendly feeling cease to prevail.... I know I will rejoice.... The whole community, saint and sinner, will rejoice.... May the Lord continue to comfort you.³

To his onetime neighbor's son, W. T. Stricklin, who had said of him, "No one would harm him. He was a saintly man," Rogan expressed thoughts in his old age that had been restrained when he was younger.

My dear Sir,

I feel much concerned in view of your condition, and I trust you will believe me to be sincere when I say to you my bosom has been thrilled with joy and gladness in the statement you give of the resolutions you have formed, the pledges you have made...that you will never more indulge in the pernicious deadly, poisonous, intoxicating bowl....⁴

Rogan carried on an extensive correspondence with his nieces and nephews, and each year when he visited Alabama, Tennessee, and Virginia, he had the company of various young ladies, nieces and granddaughters, who stopped from place to place to visit relatives. One of Rogan's trips extended to the East -- to Frederick, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York -- covering the old route both he and his father had taken on innumerable occasions, including battlefields that had personal meaning. While in New York, he wrote his granddaughter, Lily, that he was contemplating a trip around the world, "first to Dublin, where would be numerous cousins."⁵

³James Rogan to an unnamed friend, April, 1881, Rogan Papers.

⁴James Rogan to W. T. Stricklin, Ripley, Mississippi, n.d., Rogan Papers.

⁵James Rogan to Lily Rogan, New York, n.d., Rogan Papers.

Whether Rogan or his family decided against the voyage, it remained only a dream, but the old traveler returned to his home still so much under the influence of his wanderlust that he wrote two allegories embodying his desires. One was a factual account of the trip he had recently completed, written in the style of the Fire-Eaters, an anonymous political publication which had appeared before the war and caused much controversy between the Whigs and Democrats.⁶ The second was a kind of Pilgrim's Progress which emphasized again his often repeated idea that life should be a slow but steady advancement through the shoals of human failure to a perfection acquired through reunion with God. Most of his figures of speech dealt with travel, and in his last year he wrote of being "on the oxcart of time."⁷

Rogan's mind was drawn back to the past even by the marriages of the family grandchildren. One by one he saw familiar names of his infancy being mingled with that of Rogan. He spoke of the blood of the old families coursing then through the same veins as in earlier days the separate families had flowed through the same frontier paths. Lynn, Bachman, Patton, Trigg, Crockett, Vance, Heiskell, Rutledge, Henderson, Gamble, Campbell, Cloud -- most of the familiar names were represented.

One by one in various places James recorded the names and dates of the states as they were admitted to the Union, often adding data

⁶Conversation with Dr. Jefferson D. Burns, Ripley, Mississippi, April 6, 1931; Chronicles of the Fire-Eaters (Brandon, Mississippi, 1853).

⁷James Rogan, Sermon, Rogan Papers.

interesting to him. There had been fourteen of the states when Daniel arrived in America; there were thirty-eight when James listed them. Already Daniel Rogan's descendants lived in half of them, as many as had existed at the time of his arrival.

In 1882 Stonewall College burned. Ripley's great school for girls came to an end. Mrs. Buchanan moved to Pontotoc to become principal of Chickasaw College, followed by a whole entourage of little Tippah County girls, including Falkner's Effie; Sally's little Minnie; Lafayette's four daughters; and Mrs. Buchanan's grandchildren, Lewie and Hettie. The Sabbath School was strangely empty of the pretty faces Rogan loved. He decided to visit his relatives in Alabama and Tennessee and refreshed his spirit at a series of camp meetings. A diary kept by Rogan on another trip, in his eighty-first year, written in pencil and badly faded, is preserved.⁸ On June 8, 1878, in Rogersville he "dined with Colonel Netherland and Colonel Heiskell. Netherland was partially paralyzed." He called also on the Sevier family. On the seventeenth he visited Rotherwood and that night wrote a letter to F. A. Ross. As he viewed the rivers in the old vicinity he recorded something about them, the names by which the Indians called them -- the Holston being the Coot-blū or Cherokee.

On August 14 Rogan mentioned for the first time the yellow fever epidemic that was raging in Mississippi. Letters poured in from members of his family urging him to remain away from home. On August 24, determined to visit scenes familiar from his flatboating days, he climbed

⁸James Rogan, Diary, 1878-1879, Rogan Papers.

a knob overlooking the Holston and saw a pheasant for the first time in fifty or sixty years. He walked ten miles in the mountains. A few days later he took a trip on horseback through the mountains, "mounting my horse from the ground as usual, returning to James' at 11 p.m.," he recorded.⁹

After his return to the home of his daughter, Maria, Rogan heard of a death in the family of F. A. Ross and on September 10 wrote another letter of condolence. On November 18, he left Talladega for Ripley. Again in the following November he was in Talladega where he found Judge Lewis Wyeth holding court. As Rogan entered the courtroom, Judge Wyeth came down from the bench with both hands extended to greet his old friend. They had not met for forty years, and their "hands clung in warm grasp."¹⁰

In the last year of his life, Rogan visited East Tennessee again. At Rogersville he missed Netherland, who had recently died. Going on to Kingsport, he "stood by the graves of the patriarchs" -- the Netherlands and the Rogans. At the graveside of his parents he wept for all the long years since he had seen them, for all the questions about his lineage to which he would never have an answer. He realized that this was his last visit, for on his return home he wrote to his son, James, that he felt that "the life forces had indeed greatly diminished."¹¹

⁹Ibid., September 8 et seq.

¹⁰Rogan, Memorandum, Rogan Papers.

¹¹James Rogan to James W. Rogan, Ripley, Mississippi, n.d.; James Rogan, Notes, Rogan Papers; James W. Rogan, Diary, December, 1884.



O'RUACAN

ROGAN

Coat of Arms

In December his son James visited him.

Back at home in March Rogan received a letter which opened an old wound that would never heal, no matter how submissive his own spirit -- his despair because of the "wicked Rebellion."

Talladega, Alabama
March 12, 1885

Judge Rogan

Dear Brother

How good the Lord has been to you personally! I often think...it is a great blessing to live so long, especially when one uses his life properly as you have done.

I have long intended to say a few things to you in regard to your son Captain R. H. Rogan, with whom I was so intimately associated in the Virginia Army. Being somewhat acquainted with him at home...we were associated in the same Mess. I ate and slept with him...until he received his fatal wound. I cherished hope of his salvation. It was a subject we discussed frequently.... Only a short time before his final battle -- I think about a month before -- he came to my tent and talked to me until a late hour.... An officer in the Army had a bad chance /to profess openly/ and it was difficult for them to give it attention...but he was quite serious about it.

Believe me
Your friend¹²

James Rogan made a list of his children, all Presbyterians but Lafayette, who was a Methodist. "They are all Presbyterians, every one, and I am convinced rest in the arms of Our Blessed Saviour and Lord."¹³

¹²"A friend" to James Rogan, Talladega, Alabama, March 15, 1884, probably the Reverend John J. Renfro, Chaplain of the Tenth Alabama Regiment. Owen, op. cit., IV, 1427.

¹³Rogan, Notes, Rogan Papers.

James wrote at the same time a letter to his daughter, Maria, telling her that if she and Mr. Wood wished, as she had recently suggested, to come for him, he was ready to make his summer visit.¹⁴ In April the Woods journeyed to Ripley and for the last time escorted the old gentleman to their home.¹⁵

No child of his own wrote so feelingly of James as did his grandson Charles, John's son whom he had sheltered during the holocaust that brought the father's death.

Grandpa, James Rogan, died at Talledega, Alabama, September 9, 1885, at 9:45 a.m. of congestion of the lungs. He was conveyed by special train from Talledega to Ripley, Mississippi, and was buried there. On the eighth he ate a hearty dinner, was taken sick at 4 p.m. and died the next morning.

To thy fellowman and to thy God the world can heartily say, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant." By your decease the world has been deprived of a good man, a useful man, a model man, a devoted Christian soldier and a monument to God.¹⁶

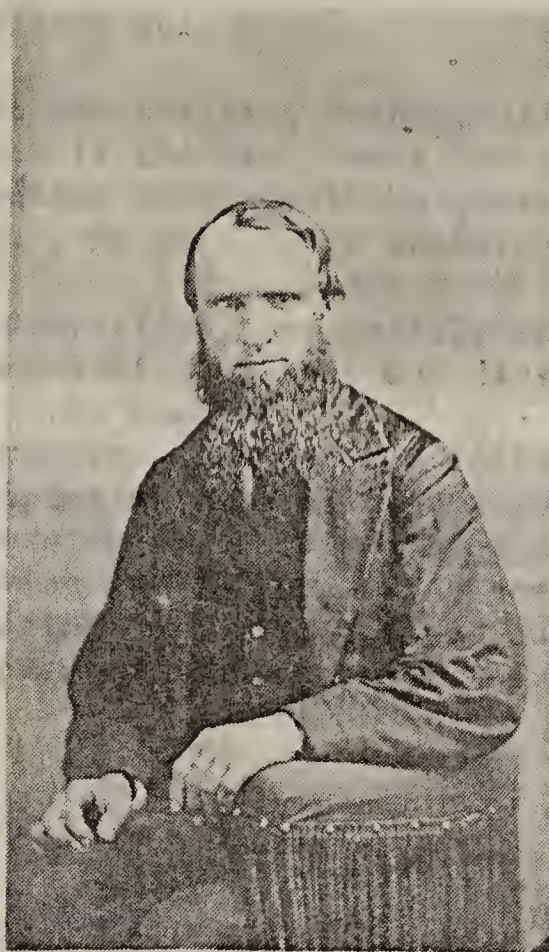
In Frederick, Maryland, Catherine Sue Markell pasted a clipping to an acrostic. "Mr. J. P. Wood and wife, son-in-law and daughter of the late James Rogan...arrived with the remains of the late James Rogan on the train on Thursday."¹⁷ The elegantly embellished acrostic read:

¹⁴James Rogan to Maria Rogan Wood, March 21, 1885, Rogan Papers.

¹⁵James W. Rogan, Diary, September, 1884-October, 1887, September 10, 1885.

¹⁶Charles Rogan, Note, Brownwood, Texas, October 7, 1885, Rogan Papers.

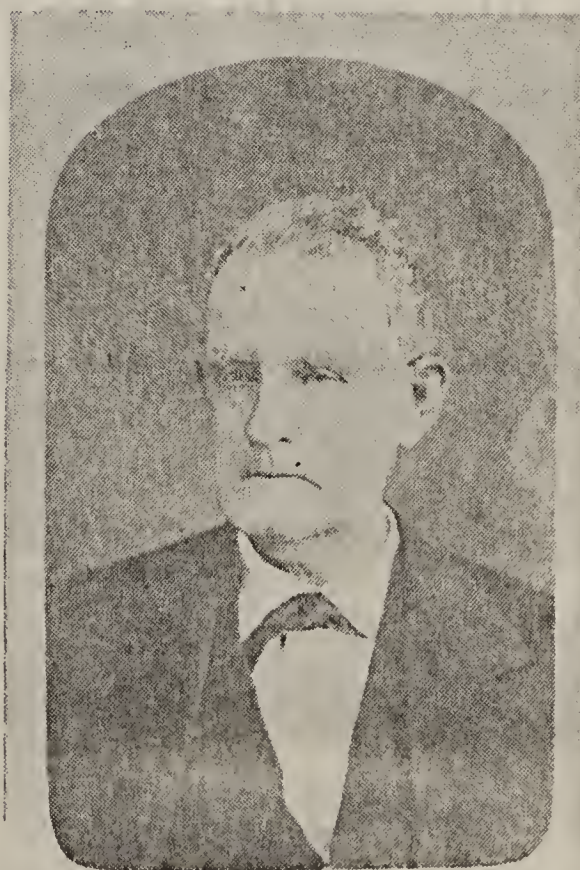
¹⁷Ripley Advertiser, September 16, 1885; Markell Diary, II, flyleaf.



Daniel Rogan



Littleton Rogan



James Rogan



Wm. J. Brown



Wm. J. Brown



Wm. J. Brown

My dear Sue,

Can you realize, Morning of life has passed away?
Such is the fact, more and more visible every day.
Useless to conceal the great and Solem truth
Ever, No More to be numbered with the youth.

Midday life, too, swiftly speeding its flight
Admonishing us that our days soon will be hid
in night.

Remember, soon old age follows with rapid speed.
Keeping us mindful of the constant aid, of need.
Eternity now boldly stares us in the face.
Loving Savior gives us grace to win the race.
Lasting joys will then be our happy lot,
Impressed upon the soul, never to be forgot.

Your uncle
James

In his 88th year¹⁸

Many people great and small paid tribute to James Rogan. William Falkner, author and financier, in arranging for the special train symbolized the words and deeds of others. But James Rogan hardly needed adulation and orations. As his grandson had said, his life was his monument. In the Tippah hills not far from the Hatchie Rivers, he had his wish and conquered his last stream. In the Talledega hills the river of his life became but a trickle, and he "made the last easy step across."

¹⁸James Rogan to C. Sue Markell, April 9, 1885, Rogan Papers.

ABSTRACT

Mrs. Virginia Owen Bardsley, Doctor of Philosophy, 1961.

Major: History, Department of History and Government.

Title of Dissertation: "James Rogan, Hill Country Pioneer."

Directed by: Glover Moore.

Pages in Thesis: 235.

Words in Abstract: 472.

ABSTRACT

James Rogan (1797-1885), the son of an Irish immigrant, was born near Fincastle, Virginia, when that place was the crossroads of the trails leading southbound migrants to various regions of the southern interior. In the continuing movement the Rogans joined other pioneers and with them helped to establish new communities in new states.

From the first the Rogans engaged in trade and transportation, using horses, wagons, and boats for delivering merchandise on the frontier. At twelve James Rogan first became a river boatman, a pursuit he followed for thirty years on Tennessee and Alabama waters. Associated with the King and the White families, early industrialists of the Holston Valley, James Rogan's first ventures were centered around the Abingdon-Kingsport area. His chief cargoes were iron and salt.

After a trip down the river to New Orleans with a flotilla of boats laden with cotton and a return over the Natchez Trace, James Rogan moved his family, composed of his wife -- the former Sarah Netherland -- and two infants, to Gunter's Landing in Alabama, at a time when the place was still Indian territory. A few years later he moved to Ashville, Alabama. At that point he developed a complex career when he became Judge

of the County Court, poastmaster, founder of the local Presbyterian Church, cofounder of the Ashville Academy, state legislator, and merchant. He operated a trading station in Cherokee County amid the Indians, a tannery, and a blacksmith's shop. Also, he bought both town property and county farm lands, acquiring his first slaves during this period.

When some of Rogan's friends began moving to Mississippi where new segments from the Indian Cessions were being opened, he followed and purchased land near Ripley, Tippah County, in the high hills of the north-eastern part of the state. Soon he was made Judge of the Probate Court for that large county. He also farmed with the aid of his sons and his slaves. After the death of his wife in 1854, he never remarried. While rearing five sons and four daughters, as well as helping with the rearing, education, and employment of several brothers and nephews, Rogan again lent his support to the foundation of schools.

When war came, although Rogan held loyal sentiments, his five sons joined the Confederate army. Three of these sons were lost and a fourth was imprisoned. After the war he spent years vainly trying to recover the value of a portion of his resources which the Union Army had confiscated.

Although he was a simple, unschooled man, Rogan had many friends among the prominent men of his day, from John Sevier to the noted Colonel William Falkner. An ardent churchman, revivalist, and outstanding Presbyterian layman, he devoted much of his energies to religious work. A letter writer, diarist, and traveler, he lived a long, honorable, and eventful life.

APPENDIX

Photographs of Documents Relative

to the Confederate Service of

John N., Lafayette, and Richard C. Rogan.

APPENDIX

STATEMENT OF JAMES H. HARRIS

TO THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE

LAND OFFICE, ALABAMA, AND BUREAU OF LANDS

(CONFEDERATE)		(CONFEDERATE)
R	17	TEXAS
<p><i>John N. Hogan</i></p> <p><i>Co. A, Allen's Regt. 2nd Inf.</i></p>		
<p>Appears on a</p> <p>RECEIPT ROLL</p>		
<p>for Bounty</p> <p>Roll dated</p>		
<p>By whom</p> <p>Period</p>		
<p>ENLISTED:</p> <p>When</p> <p>Where</p> <p>By whom</p> <p>Period</p>		
<p>LAST PAID:</p> <p>By whom</p> <p>To what time</p>		
<p>Bounty: Paid, \$ 60.00 : due, \$ 100.00</p>		
<p>Signature</p> <p>Remarks: Deceased</p>		
<p>Roll No.</p>		
<p>Reelsley</p> <p>Copyist.</p>		

(CONFEDERATE)		(CONFEDERATE)
R	17	TEXAS
<p><i>John N. Hogan</i></p> <p><i>Co. A, Allen's Regt. Texas Inf.</i></p>		
<p>Appears on a quarterly</p> <p>Return</p>		
<p>of deceased soldiers of the organization named above,</p> <p>for the quarter ending Dec 31, 1862.</p>		
<p>Died:</p> <p>When</p> <p>Where</p> <p>Cause</p> <p>Remarks:</p>		
<p>The two (also known as Allen's) Regiments Texas Infantry</p> <p>organized in the summer of 1862 at the direction of Gen. Sherman</p> <p>and were sent to the front during the month of March, April</p> <p>and May, 1862.</p>		
<p>Book mark:</p>		
<p><i>A. B. M. Rogers</i></p> <p>Copyist.</p>		

(CONFEDERATE)		(CONFEDERATE)
R	17	TEXAS
<p><i>John N. Hogan</i></p> <p><i>Co. A, Allen's Regt. Texas Inf.</i></p>		
<p>Age 26 years.</p> <p>Company Master Roll</p>		
<p>of the organization named above,</p> <p>for Dec 31, 1862.</p>		
<p>Joined for duty and enlisted:</p> <p>When</p> <p>Where</p> <p>By whom</p> <p>Period</p>		
<p>Remarks: Died in Hospital at</p> <p><i>San Antonio, Tex. Dec 20/62</i></p>		
<p>This company was organized by the direction of Gen. Sherman</p> <p>and was sent to the front during the month of March, April</p> <p>and May, 1862.</p>		
<p>Book mark:</p>		
<p><i>A. B. M. Rogers</i></p> <p>Copyist.</p>		

(CONFEDERATE)		(CONFEDERATE)
R	17	TEXAS
<p><i>John N. Hogan</i></p> <p><i>Co. A, Allen's Regt. Texas Inf.</i></p>		
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<p>of the organization named above,</p> <p>for Dec 31, 1862.</p>		
<p>Joined for duty and enlisted:</p> <p>When</p> <p>Where</p> <p>By whom</p> <p>Period</p>		
<p>Remarks: Died in Hospital at</p> <p><i>San Antonio, Tex. Dec 20/62</i></p>		
<p>This company was organized by the direction of Gen. Sherman</p> <p>and was sent to the front during the month of March, April</p> <p>and May, 1862.</p>		
<p>Book mark:</p>		
<p><i>A. B. M. Rogers</i></p> <p>Copyist.</p>		

(Classified)

[illegible]

Name appears as signature to a

Roll of Prisoners of War

at Rock Island Barracks, Ill., transferred for
exchange March 20, 1865.

Roll dated Headquarters Rock Island Barracks,
Ill., March 20, 1865.

Where captured
Cattaraugus

When captured	1863
10 5 4	1863

Remarks:

Number of rows:

133

Copyright

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67793627

Forrest guard since
Jan. 28 1863 by
order of Col. Waithall

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L. Hoag

Wm. W. Phelps, at New York City.

1880

Company Master Roll

1813.

Feb 26 1882.

Ripley, Miss
Capt. Rucker

13 years

[illegible]

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Present
 A. F. and W. W. at
 Chatterbox Furnace (over)

1
The company subsequently became Fortney....., 24th
February 1890-1891

The 4th Regiment Mississippi Infantry was organized in 1861, as the 4th Regiment Mississippi Infantry. By

of No. 4, Headquarters Department No. 2, dated March 3, 1900, the designation was changed to the 4th Regiment Miscellaneous Infantry, that being the number by which this regiment was known at the Confederate War (Department).

About April 1960 this regiment was consolidated with the 24th, with command with Lieutenant Major-General. It then formed a new Regiment which was designated the 11th

[illegible]

J. R. Taylor

Prayer.

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(CONFEDERATE.)

R

S. Rogan

Pvt. Co. E, 34 Miss.

Appears on a

LIST

of killed, wounded and missing,
of Walthall's Brigade, in the
engagement on Lookout Mountain,
Tenn., (Nov. 24, 1863.)

List dated Camp near Dalton, Ga.
Dec. 18, 1863.

Remarks: Missing

(CONFEDERATE)

R

L. Rogan

2nd Lieut Co B, 24th Miss. Regt.

Appears on a consolidated

REPORT

of absentees with leave and on
detached service of Withers' Divi-
sion, Polk's Corps, Army of
Tennessee.

Report dated Shelbyville, Tenn.
March 24, 1863

Brigade Walthalls

Time of leaving Jan. 26, 1863
By whose authority Genl. Anderson

No. and date of order S.O. 8
Jan. 27/63

On what service Guard duty

Chattanooga

Remarks:

Series 1, Vol. 31, part 2, page 691.

Copyist.

1371

Box 51

No. 36

Shepherd

Copyist.

R | 10 | Ala.

W. L. Ragan
1st Lt., Co. 2, 10 Reg't Alabama Infantry.

Appears on a

Roster

of "the Tenth Regiment of Alabama Volunteers,
 Sanders' old Brigade, Anderson's Division,
 Hill's Corps, Gen. Lee's army; mustered into
 Confederate service June 4, 1861, for three
 years or the War."

Roster dated

Dec. 21, 1864

Date of entry or muster } June 4, 1861
 into Confederate service,
 Date of rank, and whether } Election
 by appointment, election }
 or promotion, } June 4, 1861

Date and cause of vacancy } promoted Feb 14, 1862

Name of successor James L. Rank

Remarks:

Book mark:

(648)

Copyd.

VOUCHER No 133

Paid the 3 day of October 1864

W. L. Ragan Capt.
Co. 2nd Ala. Regt. C. S.

From the 11 day of Aug 1864

To the 11 day of Oct 1864

Pay, \$ 260.00

Forage,

Amount, \$ 260.00



Received, this 26th day of August 1861.
at Camp near Bristol Va. of Capt Wm
Mc Minn A. G. Mc 10th Ala. Regt. The following
clothing viz:-

(92) Nine Pairs. Shoes & \$ 2.25

(Duplicated)

for Capt W. Co. 10th Ala. Regt

Received, at Camp near Centerville Va. on
this 15th day of December 1861. Of Capt. Wm Mc Minn A. G.
Mc 10th Ala. Regt. The following clothing viz:-

(19)	Shirts	Yellow Shavers	New.
(25)	Twenty five	Haversacks	New.

(Duplicated)

T. C. Hogan
Sweet Landy Co & 10th Ala. Regt

\$700 Received at *Richmond, Va.*
 the *22nd* day of *May* 1862 of LIEUT. COL. LARKIN SMITH,
 Assistant Quarter Master General U. S. Army, the sum of
Seven Hundred Dollars,
 and *—* Cents, Funds of the Quarter Masters
 Department, for which I am accountable at the Treasury of the
 Confederate States.
Brnnty
 (SIGNED IN DUPLICATE)

*R. L. Rogers Lieut Col D.
 10th Ala Regt Recording Officer
 and A. A. G. M.*

THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA,

To *St R & Rogers 10th Ala Regt* Dr.

ON WHAT ACCOUNT.	COMMENCEMENT AND EXPIRATION.		TERM OF SERVICE CHARGED.		PAY PER MONTH.		AMOUNT.		REMARKS
	From—	To—	Months	Days	Dollars	Cents	Dollars	Cents	
For myself	<i>31st April</i> <i>1862</i>	<i>30th May</i> <i>1862</i>	<i>1</i>		<i>70</i>	<i>00</i>	<i>70</i>	<i>00</i>	
For year's service									
Forage for horses									
							<i>70</i>	<i>00</i>	

I hereby certify that the foregoing account is accurate and just; that I have not been absent, without leave, during any part of the time charged for; that I have not received pay, forage, or received money in lieu of any part thereof, for any part of the time therein charged; that the horses were actually kept in service and were mustered for the whole of the time charged; that for the whole of the time charged for my staff appointment, I actually and legally held the appointment and did duty in the department; that I have been a commissioned officer for the number of years stated in the charge for every additional five years' service; that I am not in arrears with the Confederate States on any account whatsoever; and that the last payment I received was from *Capt. the Hayden of M 10th Ala Regt* and to the *30th* day of *April* 1862.

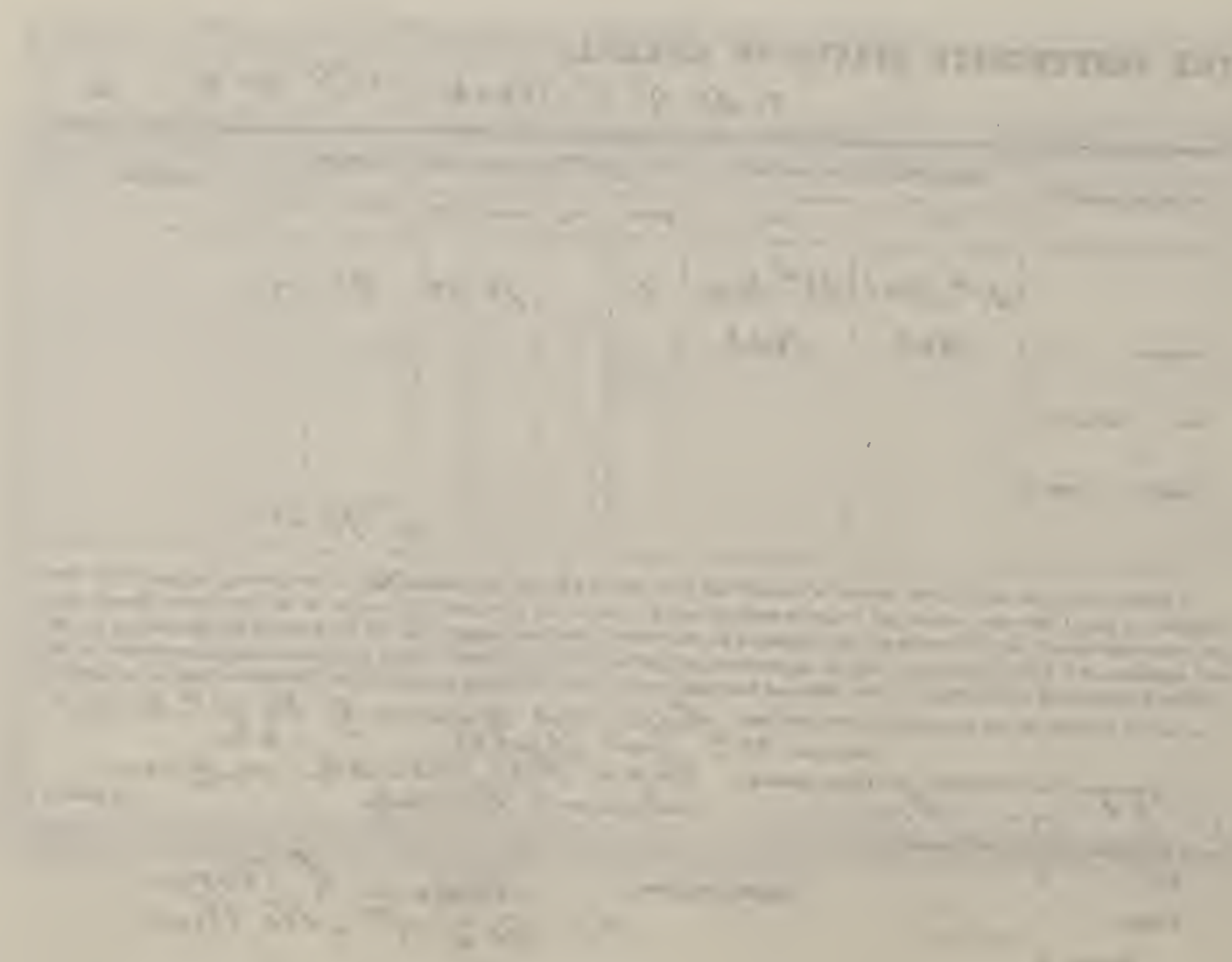
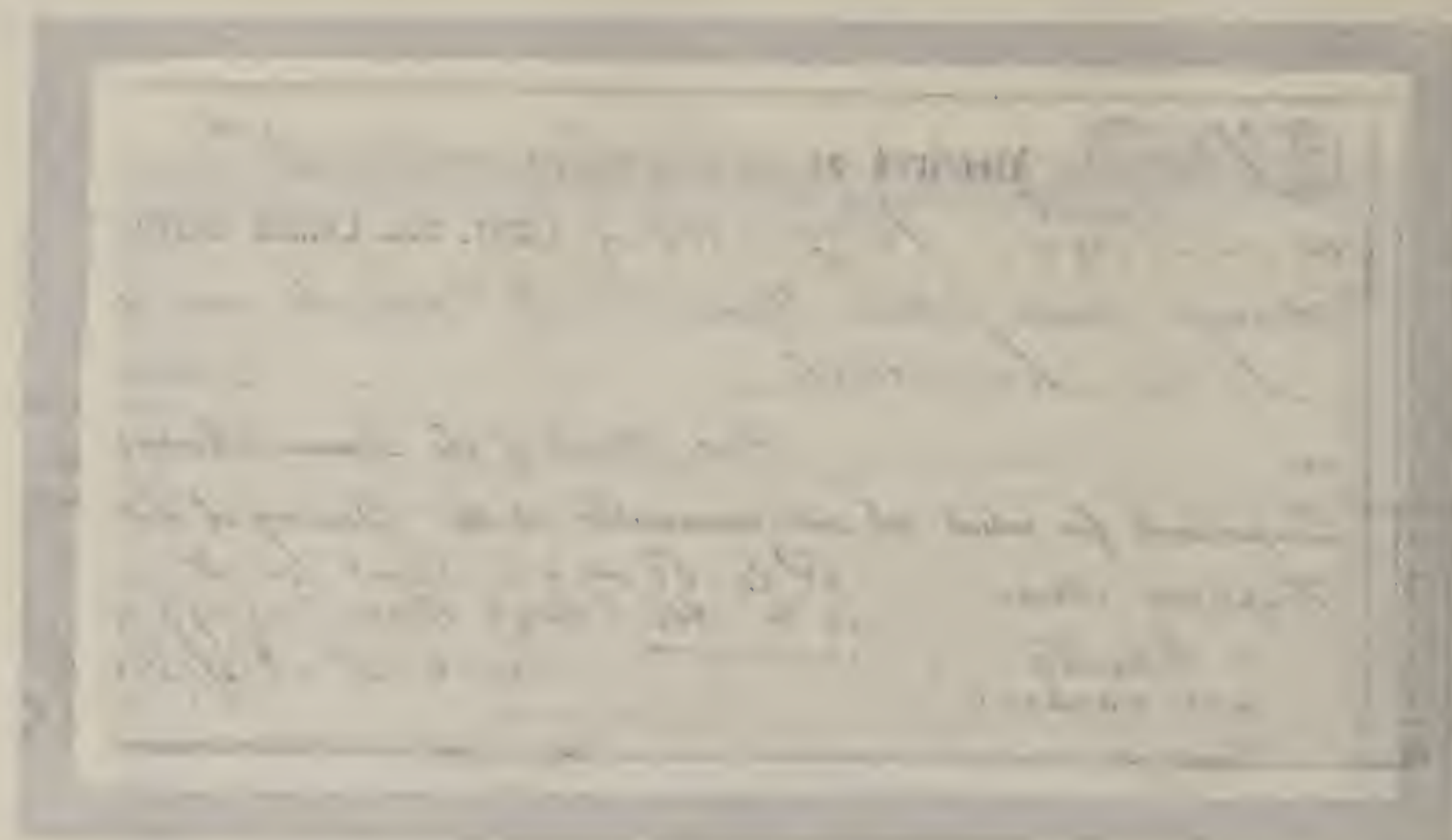
I, at the same time, acknowledge that I have received of
 this *24* day of *June* 1862, the sum of *Twenty* Dollars,
 being the amount in full of said account.

Pay, - - - \$

Forage, - -

(Signed Duplicates.)

Richard C. Rogers
10th Ala Regt



Special Requisition
 (1) Green Melasses 20

is for my own use
 sent R. C. Regan
 10th Nov.
 1861

The Confidant State of Service

To H. C. Regan 1st Dist. 10th Nov. 1861

Current account	Commenced	Expended	Balance	Amount	Received
Green	To	By	Dr	Cr	Dr
1861	1861				
31 st July	31 st Oct.	3	-	50 00	270 00
				270 00	

Account of the above
 done 4th 1861
 Richard C. Regan
 1st Dist. 10th Nov. 1861

I hereby certify that the foregoing account is correct and just, that I have not been absent without leave during any part of the time charged for; that I have not received pay for any part of the time therein charged, that I am not in arrears with the Confidant State on any account whatsoever, and that the last payment I received was from the 4th June 1861 to 31st July 1861. I at the same time acknowledge that I have received of Capt. Amble on said 17th day of November 1861 the sum of Two hundred and seventy Dollars, being the amount in full of said account.

Richard C. Regan
 1st Dist. 10th Nov. 1861

[Form 19.]

The Confederate States,

To

Dr.

January 1862 *to* *March 1862* *by* *Dr. R. H. R.*

<p><i>eight Head of Beef cattle in line of gross weight</i></p> <p><i>Thirteen six hundred pounds of 5600 lbs at 9 cents</i></p> <p><i>Condition good</i></p>	<p><i>Remarks</i></p> <p><i>The above</i></p> <p><i>account</i></p> <p><i>was paid</i></p> <p><i>at the time</i></p> <p><i>of the purchase</i></p> <p><i>and will</i></p> <p><i>be paid</i></p> <p><i>in full</i></p> <p><i>of the</i></p> <p><i>account</i></p>
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I certify that the above account is correct and just, and that the articles *will be* accounted for on my returns for the month of *January* 1862, and that the purchases were made by order of

Major H. L. Robertson A. C. S., C. S. A.

Received at *Grading & Lumbering* *on the* *16th* *of* *March* *1862* *for* *at*

Eight Hundred & Seventy-two dollars *cents*, in full of the above account.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
 LIBRARY
 1155 EAST 58TH STREET
 CHICAGO, ILL. 60637
 TEL. 733-4331



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
 LIBRARY

1155 EAST 58TH STREET
 CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

(Confederate)		(CONFEDERATE)		(CONFEDERATE)		(CONFEDERATE)			
R	10	R	10	R	10	R	10		
<p><i>R. C. Rozan</i> Capt. Co. D. 10 Reg't Alabama Infantry.</p> <p>Appears on</p> <p>Company Muster Roll</p> <p>of the organization named above,</p> <p><i>July 7 Aug 1</i>, 1863.</p> <p>Enlisted:</p> <p>When <i>June 4</i>, 1861.</p> <p>Where <i>Mississippi</i></p> <p>By whom <i>Col. Brown</i></p> <p>Period <i>the war</i></p> <p>Last paid.</p> <p>By whom</p> <p>To what time <i>present</i>, 186</p> <p>Present or absent</p> <p>Remarks:</p>		<p><i>R. C. Rozan</i> Capt. Co. D. 10 Reg't Alabama Infantry.</p> <p>Appears on a</p> <p>Register</p> <p>containing Returns of Commissioned Officers, Provisional Army Confederate States.</p> <p>Date of appointment <i>1861</i></p> <p>Date of resignation, death, transfer or promotion <i>Resigned May 9, 1864.</i></p> <p>Remarks:</p>		<p><i>R. C. Rozan</i> Capt. Co. D. 10 Reg't Alabama Infantry.</p> <p>Appears on a Register of</p> <p>General Hospital No. 4 Richmond, Virginia.</p> <p>under the head of "Applications for Transfer."</p> <p>Date <i>May 14</i>, 1863.</p> <p>Disease <i>Gunshot wound</i></p> <p>Transportation or passport <i>to home, Va</i></p> <p>Time <i>62</i> days.</p> <p>Remarks:</p>		<p><i>R. C. Rozan</i> Capt. Co. D. 10 Reg't Alabama Infantry.</p> <p>Appears on a Register of</p> <p>General Hospital No. 4 Richmond, Virginia.</p> <p>Date <i>May 9</i>, 1863.</p> <p>Brigade</p> <p>Remarks: <i>May 24, 63. Transferred to home, Va</i></p> <p>Confed. Arch., Chap. 6, File No. 178, page 7</p> <p><i>R. C. Rozan</i> Copyist</p>		<p><i>R. C. Rozan</i> Capt. Co. D. 10 Reg't Alabama Infantry.</p> <p>Appears on a Register of</p> <p>General Hospital No. 4 Richmond, Virginia.</p> <p>Date <i>May 14</i>, 1863.</p> <p>Disease <i>Gunshot wound</i></p> <p>Transportation or passport <i>to home, Va</i></p> <p>Time <i>62</i> days.</p> <p>Remarks:</p>	

Co D 10th Mass Regt
April 27th 1864

Capt R. B. Ragan

Application for
Discharge
Part 50 No 108 at 380

May 27th 1864

April 30th 1864

Respectfully forwarded approval
I hope this resignation
will be accepted. As I feel
confident the services will
be benefited thereby. The Company
Capt Ragan commands is
small and has four (4) colored
officers. Capt R. A. Chalmers is
incorrect about Lieut. Shelly
being promoted over him. I was
promoted by seniority to and
I was at the time Capt of Company
3 of 10th Regt. The Jr. Capt. did not
know the facts. Capt. Ragan's resignation
was made by I believe all
of the men. The Regt. Comdr.
Col. D. D. D. of the 13th Regt. Comdr.
and others. Which I believe is
now on file in the War Office.
I was appointed for
discharge on valor and skill
under the Act of Congress of April
10th 1863. Capt. Ragan
was at the time promoted
to the line of promotion.

J. H. Shelly
Capt. Comdr. Regt.

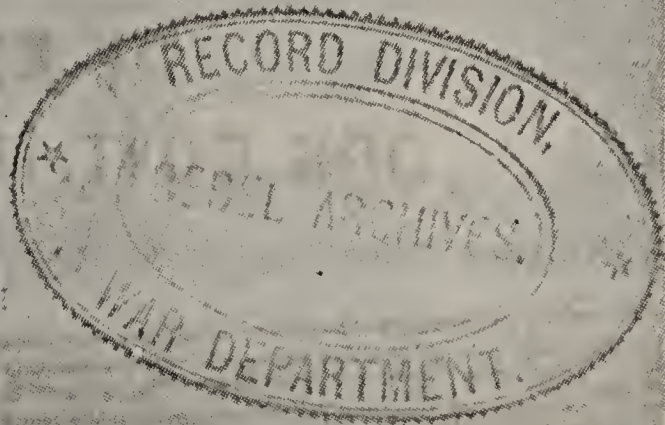
Part 50 No 108 May 3rd 1864

Head Quarters Army of V.
30 April 1864

Res. fr. & acceptance
recommended. The
writer will be allowed
to select any company
in this army in which
to serve as provided
for in War. H. G. O. No 24
at H. Q. 1863 -

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R. B. Ragan



Camps 10th Ala Regt
April 27th 1864

Genl.

I hereby tender my resignation & ask
that it be accepted for the following reasons and
upon the following conditions, viz: in June last
Lt Shelby was promoted to Lt Col over
me without my consent while I was absent wounded.
His promotion was in positive violation of law
and upon false grounds my reason for not
entering a protest was because of my absence and I
feared that it would create dissatisfaction in the
regiment. The condition upon which I wish my
resignation accepted is that I be allowed the privilege
of selecting the command to which I shall attach
myself. It is not my desire to abandon the service
but on the contrary I am determined to remain
in it as long as I am able to perform military
duty. But believing as I do that I can render
the cause more valuable ^{service} with some other command
as a private than I can this as Captain I hope
that my resignation will meet with your approval.

I am Genl your obedient servant

R. V. Regan Captain
Company G 10th Ala Regt

To
J. Cooper
& V. S. Kent

Richd. C.

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